

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND GEOGRAPHY

In these days of ever-increasing specialisation it could be considered rash to attempt this book, which deals with a vast area of the Near East, three millennia of cultural development in most varied conditions, plus numerous far-reaching invasions. To present all this in detail would require volumes, and more knowledge of the Near East than this writer claims. Much hard labour remains to be done before we can hope to see how cultural developments in one country affected those of another. Had this book been written twenty years ago, its area would have been entirely different: Egypt and Mesopotamia would have held the most prominent places.

The fact that a volume on the Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Ages of the Near East can be written without including these two countries, indicates the radical changes that have taken place in Near Eastern archaeology since World War II. It is not the intention here to minimise the cultural achievements of Egypt or Mesopotamia. Far from it; they alone have produced literate civilisations during the Early Bronze Age, and in art and architecture outstripped anything attempted by their neighbours. It is for this reason that their achievement is better known and more widely publicised. Anyone can walk into a bookshop and buy a book on Ancient Egypt or Sumer, but when we turn to Anatolia, Syria or Palestine, the general reader is less fortunate. Professor Albright's *Archaeology of Palestine* is easily available, but does not deal in detail with the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages; Dr. K. Kenyon's *Archaeology in the Holy Land* is more detailed and up-to-date, bu

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both volumes are limited to Palestine, which is only a small part of a larger geographical area. This area includes Lebanon and Syria, stretching from the Taurus Mountains in Turkey to the Arabian Desert and Red Sea. Prof. K. Bittel's *Grundzüge zur Vorgeschichte Anatoliens* (1950), Prof. A. Goetze's *Kleinasien* (1956) and Mr. Seton Lloyd's *Early Anatolia* (1953) are all out-of-date as many new sites have been found and excavated since these books were written.

From recent research it would appear that Egypt's and Mesopotamia's role in civilising their more barbarous neighbours was — at least during the period which concerns this book — considerably overrated. Even in Syria, west and southwest of the Euphrates, where one would expect Mesopotamian influence to be strongest, local traditions and peculiarities persisted during periods when Mesopotamia exerted its strongest influence. Future excavation in Syria is likely to produce still stronger evidence of such local elements. Mesopotamian influence on Anatolian culture was hardly noticeable until the Accadian period, about 2300 B.C. However, it remained strictly regional and restricted, even during the early second millennium B.C.

The once popular theory that the Caucasus was the home of early metallurgy is now abandoned. Present evidence indicates that Anatolia taught the Caucasus and not *vice versa*. The earliest metal objects found in the Near East come from regions not even remotely connected with the Caucasus, where no single object of metal is yet known that can be safely dated earlier than ca. 2600 B.C.

Such considerations allow one to concentrate here on cultural developments in Anatolia, Syria and Palestine. Due reference will subsequently be made to Egypt and Mesopotamia.

GEOGRAPHY AND EXPLORATION.

Anatolia and Syria, along with Palestine, have been described as land-bridges, the first between Asia and Europe, the second

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between Mesopotamia and Egypt. These terms are useful only if we consider these countries as paths of communication and do not associate this definition with cultural transfusions from Mesopotamia or Iran to Europe or Egypt. While the Amanus and the Taurus mountains neatly define the boundary between Anatolian, Syrian and Mesopotamian cultural areas, there is no geographical boundary between Syria and Mesopotamia.

The ranges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon (ancient Labnan and Sharyan) divide the North Syrian plain from the South Syrian uplands (with Palestine and Jordan). Here the division is much less definite than that between the Anatolian Plateau and the Syrian Plain. A coastal range with a narrow plain, conveniently broken south of Antioch by the mouth of the Orontes, near Tripoli, and by the plain of Esdraelon, stretches from the Amanus mountains to south of Mt. Carmel. It then widens into the coastal plain of Palestine and continues as uplands into the Sinai Desert. Communication along the coast is possible. However, a more obvious route follows the great rift valley starting as Wadi Araba from the Gulf of Akaba to the Dead Sea. From the Dead Sea through the Jordan, Litani, the Beqaa and Orontes Valleys, it continues its course along the Amuq Plain, the Karasu Valley up to Maraş, with a northeast extension up to the edge of the Malatya Plain on the Anatolian Plateau.

A third route lies to the east of the rift, over the North Syrian Plain, skirting the main range of Anti-Lebanon via Nebk to the oasis of Damascus, then through the rolling Leja to the Jordanian uplands. This area is open to infiltration by nomads from the Syrian and Arabian desert, but appears — at least south of the Jabbul lake (south of Aleppo) — to have been the least favoured by early settlers. Only to the north of the desert, where the Euphrates runs north-south, do we find continuous settlement between the Amanus and the river. This can be followed up to the gorge of the Euphrates in the Taurus Mountains.

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Therefore Syria and Palestine are exposed to contact by land with Anatolia, Mesopotamia, the desert and Egypt. Their long coastlines favoured maritime exploration, which curiously does not seem to have appealed to the coast dwellers until later. The Egyptians probably initiated the sea-trade by going to Byblos in search of timber. Among the thousands of pots found on coastal sites such as Byblos and Ugarit, not a single one shows so much as a *graffito* of a ship.

Archaeological exploration of this large area has been most uneven. Palestine and Jordan are comparatively well-explored but Lebanon is not. A good survey of the Beqaa is highly desirable, for this valley is the link between Palestine and the Orontes Valley. Syria is the least explored country of all. Although the Orontes Valley abounds with archaeological sites, only its northern end, the Amuq Plain, is fairly well-known. Even less is known about the densely settled parts round Aleppo and Gaziantep, this in spite of archaeological surveys. Few excavations in Syria have penetrated beyond late third millennium levels. Similarly southern Syria, in the Damascus and Jebel Druze area, is an unknown entity during this early period.

When we think of Syria and Palestine in this remote prehistoric era, we must consider the results of years of overgrazing, which have reduced much of the wood and grassland to semi-desert. The coastal districts must have had a lush vegetation. This may be the reason why the great alluvial valleys were preferred by a predominantly agricultural population. Besides agriculture, stock-breeding must have played an important role in the early economy. Then, as now, we can imagine shepherds and nomads on the edge of the desert and the cultivated land and in marginal territories like the Negeb, as well as in the uplands and plains.

The fauna was more varied than now. There were leopards and lions, wolves and hyænas, gazelles, antelopes and fallow deer; bears in the mountains and hippopotami in the coastal plain of

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Palestine. In North Syria elephants and onagers (wild asses) were numerous.

The mountains of Lebanon and Amanus supplied excellent building material: Aleppo pine, cedar, box-wood, etc. From the early fourth millennium onwards, these were exported to Egypt and probably also to lower Mesopotamia.

Other natural resources included salt, bitumen, sulphur, ivory (Syria) and some mineral deposits. Copper could be found in Wadi Feinan (Biblical Punon), southeast of the Dead Sea, and also at Jebel Hass, south of Aleppo. Some silver may have been available in the Lebanon, but it was more common in the Taurus Mountains, which also supplied gold near Adiyaman. Oil and perfumes were important items of export to Egypt and no doubt were widely used throughout these countries.

Cilicia, as a neighbour of North Syria, maintained closer contact with the south and east than other Anatolian areas isolated on the plateau behind the Taurus Mountains. Except in this area, no early Anatolian cultures are found on the Mediterranean littoral of Turkey. Two main routes through the Taurus link Cilicia to the plateau; the Calycadnus Valley and the Cilician Gates. Both routes lead to the Konya Plain, the largest open plain on the Anatolian plateau and the richest in prehistoric sites. West of this grassland, the bold sweep of the Taurus Mountains is broken into five separate ranges, pointing south-west like the fingers of a hand. These enclose numerous small plains and valleys, also a series of magnificent lakes. The lake district of Southwestern Anatolia forms a second cultural province which reaches into the western valleys of Maeander and Hermos, natural routes to the Aegean coast.

South of the Maeander in the Carian coastlands facing the Cyclades, the scattered remains of prehistoric occupation may be seen. From Samos northwards, the offshore islands are linked culturally to the coast and inland valleys of lowland northwestern Anatolia. The Carian and northwestern Anatolian cultures faced

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the sea and were strongly maritime, due to the scarcity of hinterland.

Another cultural province lies along the south and east sides of the Sea of Marmora. The region of Bursa and Iznik (classical Nicaea), was connected by an ancient trade-route with the basin of the Sakarya River, the heart of ancient Phrygia on the plateau. Beyond this, to the east, lies the hilly region of Ankara, another centre of local, though provincial culture. To the south of Ankara a central depression of arid waste was tribal land until recently. This ends in the semi-desert area surrounding the Great Salt Lake or Tuz Gölü and roughly divides the northern cultures from their southern neighbours.

To the east, mainly within the great bend of the Kizil Irmak (the "red river" and the Halys of the ancients) lies the vast area of Central Anatolian cultures. Their separate identities are not yet clearly distinguished. Eastward these cultures extend to the watershed of the Euphrates, beyond which Eastern Anatolia begins. Southwest, they reach to the end of the Konya Plain, and north to the foot of the Pontic Mountains. This central area is mountainous and wooded, but contains very fertile parts. Between this area and the Black Sea a further cultural group, the Pontic, straddles the only route to the north coast. It is located partly on the Anatolian Plateau, near Merzifon and Amasya, partly in the lowland valley of the Yesil Irmak (Iris), and on the coast between Sinop and Ordu. The latter is the only stretch of Anatolian Black Sea coast where prehistoric occupation can be found.

Further east lie the high plateaus of Eastern Anatolia, great barren blocks of mountains hemmed in by the ranges of Taurus and Pontus. They are broken by the upper courses of the Euphrates and Araxes. It is a cold, barren and desolate land, beautiful, yet forbidding. Pastures abound, but agricultural land is restricted to the depressions; the Van Basin, the plains of Muş, Elazığ, Malatya, Erzincan, Erzerum and Kars and the valley of the Araxes.

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Culturally and archaeologically the area looks east towards Transcaucasia. With the latter it forms a single geographical unit.

Communications in Anatolia run mainly in an east-to-west direction. Few natural routes are to be found through the surrounding ranges to the north or south coast. Generally the population and cultural centres in Anatolia were on the plateau, except for the northwest coast, where the population was predominantly maritime. The early Anatolians were mainly agrarian since the plateau soils were easily workable. They were not liable to seasonal floods nor overburdened with luxurious growth. Sheep, goats, cattle and pigs were herded over the rich pasture country. Anatolia possessed the richest natural resources in the Near East. No other land had been so well endowed by nature with timber, minerals, stones and metal ores. It was a country rich in copper and silver, although gold and electrum also existed. Iron was plentiful, although not yet fully exploited in the periods with which we are concerned. Tin, however, had to be imported. The exploitation of these metal resources was aided by the plentiful supplies of wood for smelting. All these resources made Anatolia the leading metal producer of the Early Bronze Age.

PART I

SYRIA, LEBANON AND PALESTINE

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST POTTERY PRODUCING CULTURES IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE IN THE NEOLITHIC AND CHALCOLITHIC PERIODS

Recent archaeological research in the Near East has shown conclusively that, during the Neolithic Period, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine formed a wide cultural province. This was distinct from its neighbours, Egypt and Mesopotamia, and more closely related to Anatolia.

During the early Neolithic Period wood or skin vessels were used instead of pottery. Even then the stone tools, especially weapons, such as daggers, javelins and arrowheads, show marked resemblances from Anatolia to Palestine. South of the Taurus Mountains, these were made mainly in flint, whereas on the Anatolian Plateau obsidian, a black volcanic glass, predominated. Trade relations were established at an early date and from 8300 B.C. onwards flint was sent north and obsidian as far south as Jericho. The importance of this trade can hardly be over-estimated. It probably accounted for the wealth of such cities as Çatal Hüyük, in Anatolia, and Jericho. This affluence could hardly be explained by advanced agriculture or intensified hunting.

In the later phases of the Neolithic Period pottery came into common use and spread south along the same trade-route. Although the distances involved were by no means great, the technical competence necessary to make a good pot took time to acquire. This,

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added to local conservatism, may account for the disparity in dates between the north and south in the adoption of pottery.

The earliest known pottery is found in Anatolia ca. 6700 B.C. Its use did not become common until half a millennium later (ca. 5900 B.C.). From there it spread southwards to Cilicia and North Syria, where its first appearance can be dated near 6000 B.C. By about 5800 B.C. at the earliest, it had reached Byblos (Fig.1); but no pottery in Palestine can be dated earlier than 5500 B.C. In Egypt, the earliest settlement in which pottery was used, that of Fayum "A", is dated about 4500 B.C.

From Anatolia to Lebanon, the Damascus Basin and the uplands above Lake Huleh in Northern Palestine, we find hand-made pottery, usually dark in colour and finely burnished. It appears in simple globular or rounded shapes and belongs to the same group originating in Anatolia, although there are local variations, especially in decoration. It is only in the varied forms of decoration that each group shows local peculiarities. On the Anatolian Plateau the pottery is seldom decorated (most of the pots are buried up to the rim in the ground). In Cilicia and North Syria the rims were frequently ornamented with shell impressions. The vessels of a slightly later period in North Syria are often pattern-burnished, leaving dark designs on a light ground. In Early Neolithic Byblos, shell impressions cover the greater part of the pot (Fig.1, top row); this changes to incised decoration in the middle Neolithic stage (Fig.1, middle row).

Everywhere this pottery is called Neolithic, and the earliest pottery — for instance at Byblos — still shows strong links with its northern ancestral home. This derivation is further emphasized by the accompanying stone industry and the "pebble figurines" (Fig.2, from Byblos and Hacilar in Anatolia). In southern offshoots of the Byblos Neolithic such figurines worked their way to Palestine along with the pottery known as Yarmukian (Fig.3, second row left).

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This also is known as "Neolithic", but soon after the first Neolithic pottery reached Byblos (ca. 5800 B.C.) different cultures had already developed further north, in Anatolia and North Syria.



FIGURE 1 — Neolithic pottery from Byblos: top: Early Neolithic, shell impressed dark ware; middle row: Middle Neolithic, coarsely incised; bottom: Late Neolithic, coarse red ware. (after M. DUNAND, in *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 1955, 1961.)

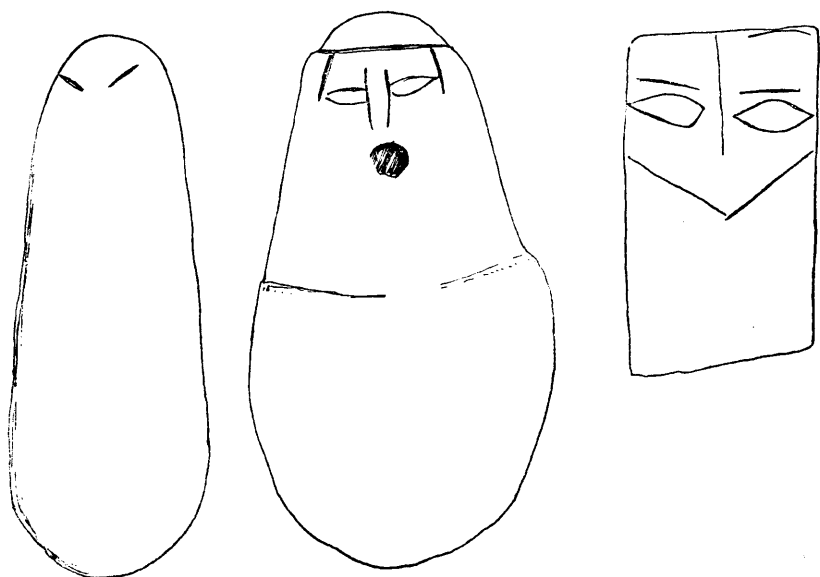


FIGURE 2 — Two Early Neolithic pebble figurines from Byblos and a comparable incised stone slab from Hacilar VI (c. 5600 B.C.), in western Anatolia. (after M. DUNAND, in *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 1955, 1961.)

There the potters had learned to produce a light-coloured ware which they decorated with patterns in red paint. Other technological advances included the first production of metal, mainly copper, and these cultures are henceforth labelled "Chalcolithic", denoting the use of both copper and stone. The Chalcolithic Age then, is characterised by the first appearance of painted pottery cultures from Anatolia to western Iran. They were familiar with the first processes of copper production, although little has survived.

The first use of metal spread southward almost as slowly as the use of pottery. The delay was due to the lack of local ore and technical incompetence, plus the lack of wealth to import the former. Painted pottery also was slow to spread south of the line from Ras Shamra to Aleppo, and the old traditional dark wares continued to be made.

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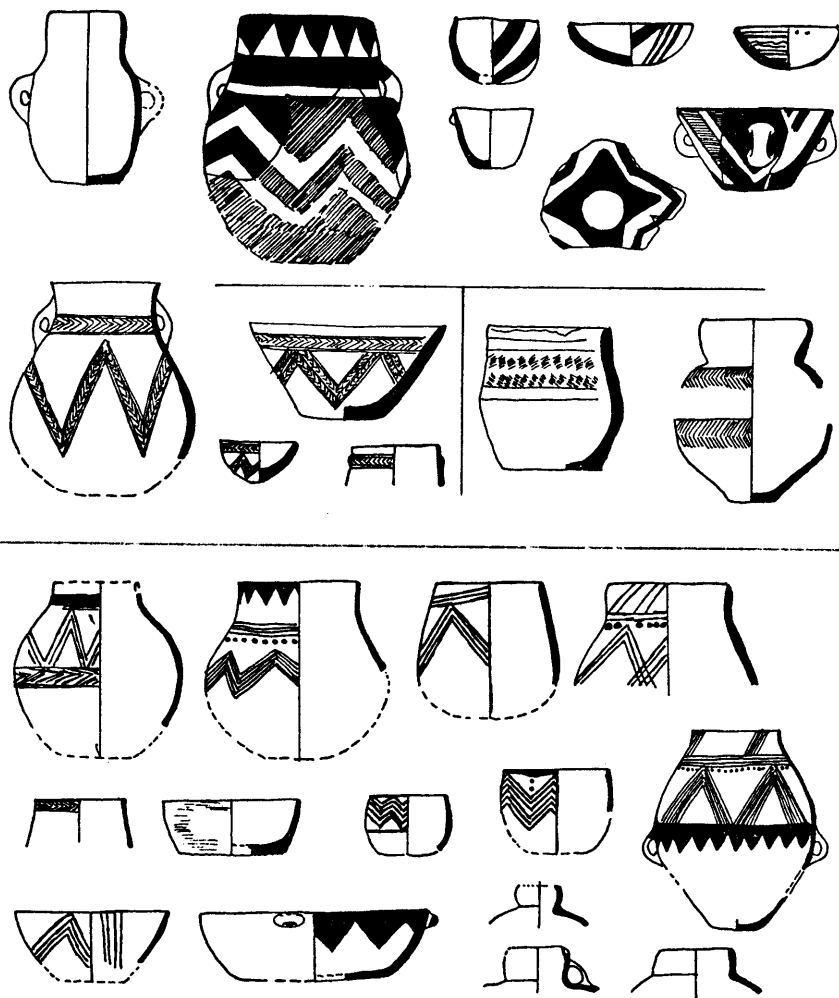


FIGURE 3 — Pottery of the "neolithic" period from Palestine. Top row: Jericho IX or pottery-neolithic A; middle row: Yarmukian, and on right, Wadi Rabah type pottery from Jericho; bottom: painted pottery from Ghrubba. (after J. GARSTANG, *Story of Jericho*; K. WHEELER, *The Walls of Jericho*; M. STEKELIS in *IEJ*, I, and J. MELLAART in *ADAJ*, III.)

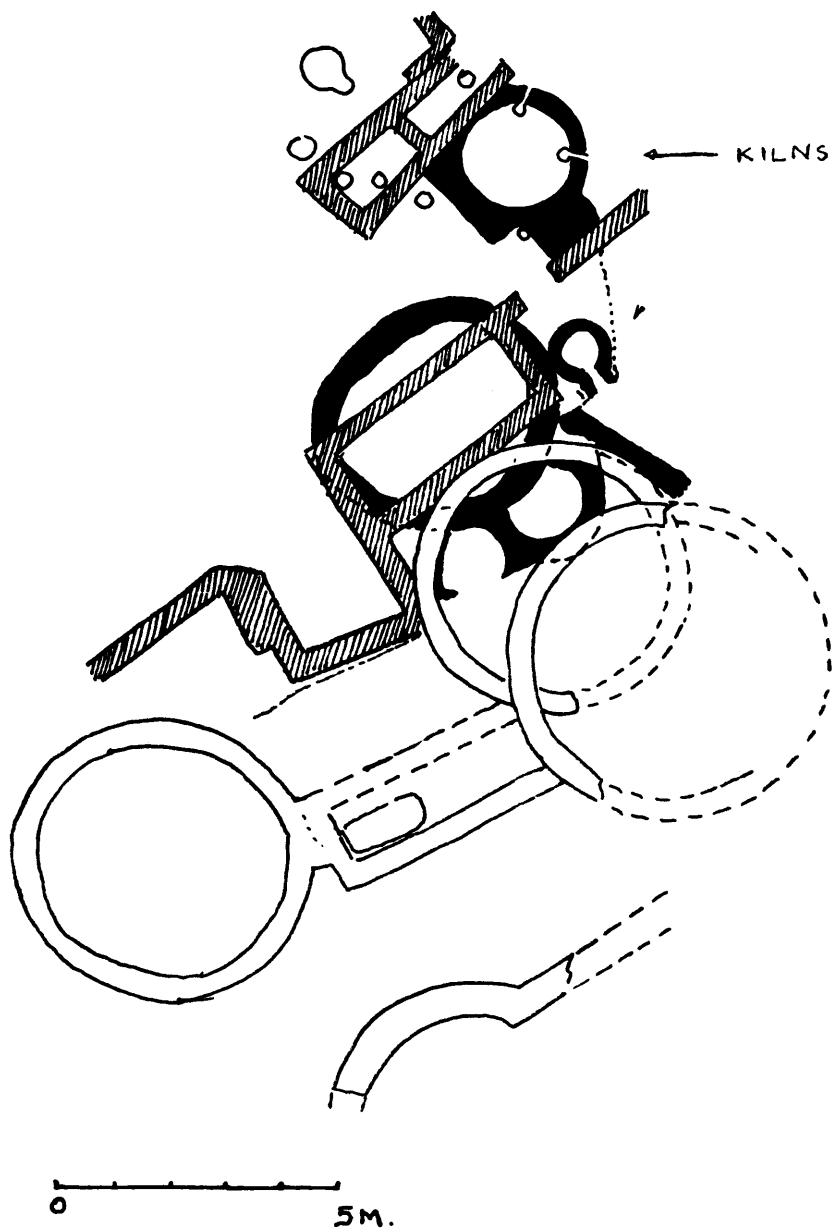


FIGURE 4 — Superimposed remains of round houses and kilns of the Halaf period at Yunus, near Carchemish.
(modified from *Iraq*, 1, 2.)

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Therefore, it is difficult to draw a line between the Neolithic and the Chalcolithic Periods in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. In this book we have compromised by choosing the Halaf Period, starting about 5000 B.C., as the beginning of the Chalcolithic Period. In northern terminology, the Halaf Period represents the Middle Chalcolithic Period in Mesopotamia and Cilicia and the beginning of the Late Chalcolithic in Anatolia. There, a Middle Chalcolithic is not actually recognisable and the Late follows the Early Chalcolithic immediately. In the Byblos sequence, this Halaf Period equals the Middle Neolithic Period and in Palestine it includes the painted pottery culture of Jericho IX (Fig.3, top rows) and the Yarmukian, which is derived from the Byblos Middle Neolithic (Fig.3, second row, left). Some wares are decorated with incised patterns on a red-washed ground.

From the Palestinian point of view, the use of the term Chalcolithic, implying the first use of copper, is not really justified until the later group of cultures (Wadi Rabah, Jericho VIII, Shuna and Ghrubba) (Fig. 3 below) belonging to the 4th millennium B.C.

THE HALAF CULTURE.

Towards the beginning of the 5th millennium B.C., there appeared somewhere in North Mesopotamia, the tentative beginnings of a new painted pottery culture. It grew and developed, eventually producing some of the most aesthetically outstanding ceramic products along the Fertile Crescent. This famous Tell Halaf Culture, named after a site on the present Turko-Syrian border near Ras el Ain, had a distribution far greater than any of its neighbours or predecessors. It stretched over the vast Mesopotamian Plain, from the foothills of the Zagros to the Euphrates at Carchemish, and beyond. Hugging the Turko-Syrian border, its northern perimeter is still undefined, but it appears to have included the regions of Diyarbakır and Adiyaman.

The main area of distribution for the Tell Halaf culture lay

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south of the Taurus, but its influence was felt even on the Anatolian Plateau. This influence pervaded the regions of Malatya and Tilki-tepe on the eastern shores of Lake Van. The latter site, which has produced excellent Halaf pottery, was probably a commercial outpost, established there for the trade in obsidian. Perhaps the Halaf culture arrived in the Malatya region through the fact that this area produced not only copper, but silver and gold, as we know from later Mesopotamian sources. The Halaf culture is the first in North Mesopotamia in which we find some scanty evidence for the production of metal vessels. Many of the Halaf pottery shapes show profiles which no potter would have normally produced unless he were competing with the metalsmith for the market. The finest products of the Halaf Culture are later, and mostly confined to the easternmost area of its distribution. The great polychrome plates with rosette and other highly aesthetic patterns, are found only at Arpachiyah and Tepe Gawra, northeast and east of Mosul. Their date is unlikely to be much earlier than the last centuries of the fifth millennium. The more western products of this remarkable culture are less sensational, although always attractive.

With a distribution as vast as that of the Halaf culture, more than one main centre of pottery production can be established. Arpachiyah and Tepe Gawra represent the most eastern, Tell Halaf the more central and Carchemish on the west bank of the Euphrates in Syria, the most western production centres. In time, it may be possible to distinguish further centres, for the entire north is still virtually *terra incognita*.

In spite of local variations, the underlying unity of the Halaf culture is clear; cream bowls are found from Tilkitepe to Mersin, as are bucrania (bulls' heads), textile patterns, and dots surrounded by circles (leopard spots). The use of a lustrous paint slightly vitrified in firing, plus the additional use of white paint are standard everywhere and easily recognisable.

Round houses built of pisé (formless lumps of puddled clay)

on strong stone foundations are characteristic. Each house had a rectangular ante-room. Although these are best known from the eastern site of Arpachiyah, others were found at Carchemish (Fig.4) and Tell Turlu near Nizib in recent excavations. Grain was stored in deep bell-shaped pits and hearths were found in the houses which were built of mudbrick in the west. Kilns for firing pottery were discovered at Carchemish and some of this Western Halaf pottery is shown in Fig.5. Besides lustrous paint, a mat paint was also in use there; this usually serves as a criterion to distinguish true Halaf from local imitations west of the Euphrates in general and in the Amuq and Cilicia in particular.

The influence of this gaily patterned pottery on North Syria was considerable. The patterns and technique were copied, mainly on local shapes, in Cilicia, the westernmost point of its zone of influence. In the Amuq Plain the influence was even stronger; although imports were few, local imitations made up for originals, and Halaf-inspired pottery formed half of the total bulk of the pottery in period C. The remaining half consisted of the local dark burnished ware, including pattern-burnished vessels, jars and bowls with flared collars (Fig.5, below). These Halaf shapes were probably of metallic origin.

Halaf imports and influence reached the coast at the beginning of Ras Shamra Period IV and increased in the second half (Fig.5, below left). These local western products are less spectacular than the true Halaf wares. Features appeared which soon led to a distinct local style, that of Amuq D and Ugarit III, 1, at a time which is probably contemporary with late Halaf in the east. Bichrome painted wares are now made (Fig.6, 2), often with very attractive forms and designs, but knowledge of these is still limited. At the same time red washed, red painted and plain wares appeared in which a jar with "bow rim" and two loop handles on the neck or body (Fig.6: 3-7) is characteristic. Pedestalled vessels were another innovation. This is a shape known at Tell Halaf itself,

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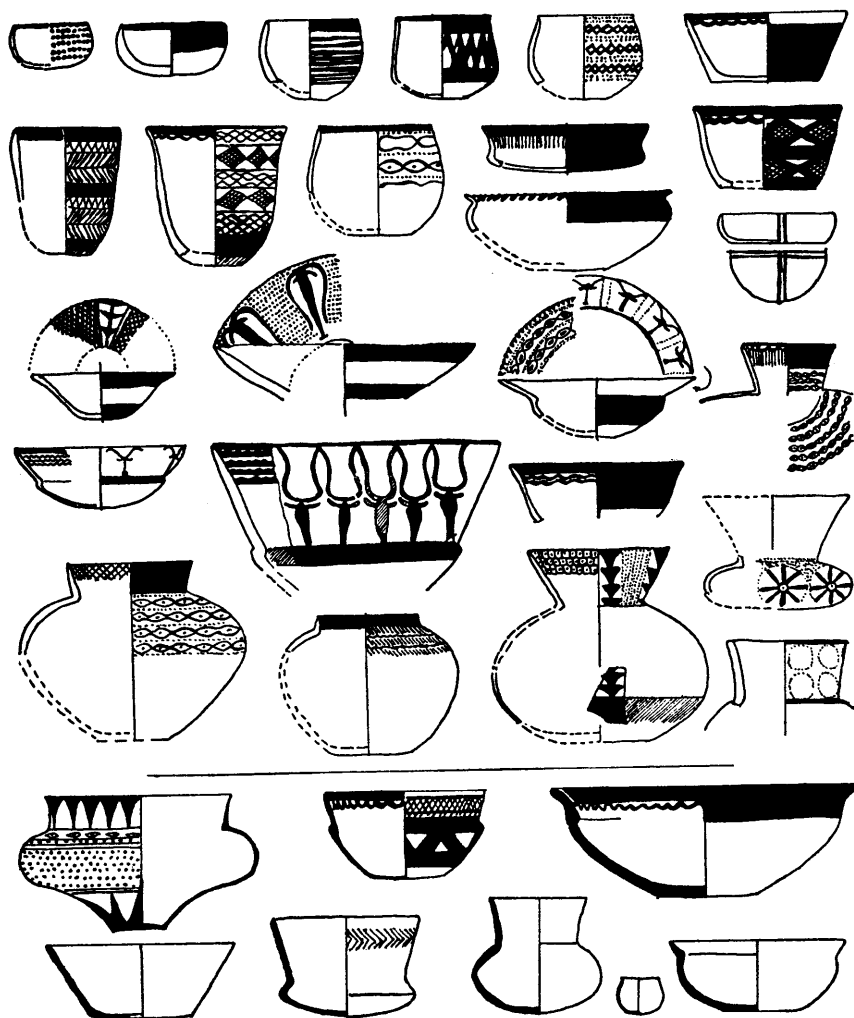


FIGURE 5 — North Syrian pottery of the Halaf period ; above line from Yunus near Carchemish; below left, one vase from Ras Shamra, rest Amuq C, painted or burnished wares.

(after S. DIRVANA, in *Belleten*, 1944 ; C. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica*, I ; R. J. BRAIDWOOD, *OIP*, LXI, 1960.)

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which evidently came from the east. However, it is in North Syria that it became popular, in the Amuq at Tell Judeideh and Tell Kurdu, at Ras Shamra and at Huwayiz in the Ghab (Orontes

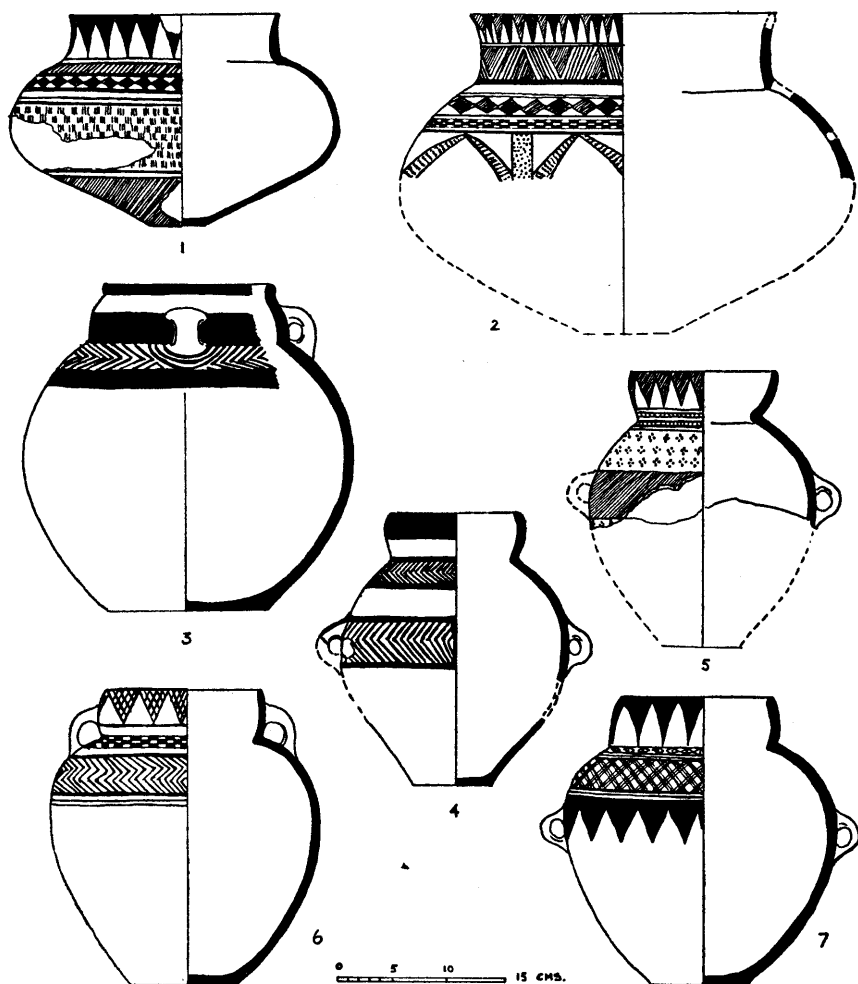


FIGURE 6 — Painted Amuq D or Tell Kurdu wares. Nos 2 from Tell Kurdu; 4 from site west of Idlib; 1, 3, 5-7 from Huwayiz (Ghab). (after *OIP*, LXI, 1960 and chance finds.)

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Valley). At Mersin, bow-rim jars occur in Level XVII and to the south the jars occur in Middle Neolithic Byblos, with the typical handles of Late Neolithic times at the same site. In each case the chronological setting preceded the appearance of rather impoverished painted pottery, known as Ubaid, which reached North Syria probably soon after the beginning of the fourth millennium B.C. It is at this point that we must return to Palestine.

PALESTINE DURING THE UBAID PERIOD; NEWCOMERS FROM THE NORTH.

The overthrow of the Halaf culture in the north by southern Mesopotamians was marked by violence at several sites. Signs of disturbance appear at roughly the same time in Cilicia, and North Syria must have felt repercussions from these events.

It is at approximately this time that the arrival of new northern elements in Palestine can be traced. They were linked very closely (as G.E. Wright has noted) with the D pottery of the Amuq. This ware, known as "Jericho VIII", is probably seen best in the pottery of Tell Shuna I, renamed by H. de Contenson, *Shuna ware*. Its distribution is virtually confined to the Jordan valley (see Map I) and Tell Farah. The same applies to the painted Ghrubba pottery, which has close affinities to the Shuna wares and is probably its contemporary. It is possible that the Jericho IX pottery also belongs to this same period, though it lacks the marked bow-rim jars. Another member of the same family, differing in decoration, but with the same characteristic shapes, is the Wadi Rabah pottery. It was distributed over the coastal plain of Palestine and the Plain of Esdraelon.

Associated with these cultures is a stone industry, poor in types (no arrowheads) and showing nothing really new. There are unsubstantial dwellings, some built of bun-shaped bricks on stone foundations with a rectangular plan, while others are circular

and subterranean. Pits are a common feature of the culture. These subterranean round houses may derive from the round buildings of North Syria. The character of the settlements in the Jordan Valley is semi-nomadic or transitory. Characteristic of this Shuna I pottery are bow-rim jars with loop handles, flattened and widened at the base (Fig.6: 3-7). Hemispherical or slightly carinated bowls and jars with slightly bulbous necks and everted rims are also typical. Pots, pedestals and bases with mat imprints occur in the same types as those which characterise the red-washed ware of Tell Kurdu (Amuq D) and its cognates. The decoration of this ware also is clearly derivative in the Shuna I pottery. A few pieces with bi-chrome painting in red and black on white have come from the bottom layers of Tell Abu Habil. Usually it is decorated with red bands, wavy bands, chevrons and vertical splashes. Raised scale patterns are found and some nail impressions now appear for the first time.

The Ghrubba pottery, simple though varied in shape, bears patterns in red or brown on a buff-white ground. The motifs are simple with affinities both in the Yarmukian, the Jericho IX and the North Syrian wares (Fig. 3; 15 bottom row). The Wadi Rabah also produced red and black polished pottery with incised and combed nail impression and herringbone patterns (cf. Fig.3: 13-14). The same motifs are found in painting at this site.

In many respects pottery of this second phase continues earlier traditions though connections with North Syria and perhaps even Cilicia can be established, and there probably was an influx of semi-nomadic newcomers from the north. The Shuna I pottery occurs at the base of a number of large mounds in the northern Jordan Valley (e.g. Tell Shuna, Beisan, Farah) which were then settled for the first time. Little is known about the culture's end; only at Tell Abu Habil is there some evidence that it developed into Ghassulian. The use of painted bands of red continued; vertical lugs became more common, but the change was gradual. It is possible that Tell

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Abu Habil shows the amalgamations of two different elements. Even the uppermost layers at this site showed no cornets which can be dated to the 33rd century B.C. Making due allowance for the Ghassulian occupation with three strata, the Shuna Period would end somewhere around 3500 B.C. Its beginning is still a matter of uncertainty. Compared to its southern neighbour, the Beersheba-Ghassulian Culture (the beginning of which is dated to the 4th millennium B.C.) it is definitely less advanced. It lacked all the more sophisticated features that this culture displayed.

THE BEERSHEBA- GHASSULIAN CULTURE.

In the absence of other remains at the sites of the earlier cultures, pottery is the main feature by which they have been judged. It is therefore a relief to be able to describe the Beersheba culture more fully. It has already been vividly illustrated through the work of J. Perrot and his collaborators.

Hitherto, the bearers of these cultures have been but shadowy figures. They were makers of pots or bone and stone tools, not creatures of flesh and blood. Since their graves have not been found, their burial habits are unknown.

In the Beersheba-Ghassulian culture, however, graves are known, and from the skeletons it is obvious that the population was already mixed. Two different strains were present: probably a native Mediterranean type with a long head, delicate features and graceful appearance; and a second Armenoid (or East Anatolian) type with a short broad skull, long straight nose in line with the forehead and abundant hair. It is these people who are pictured in their ivories. This is the first appearance of brachycephalic elements in Palestine and these people were evidently newcomers.

The two groups practised different burial rites: the Mediterraneans were either buried in a contracted position, or somewhat carelessly put away in disused silos. The East Anatolians on the

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other hand, practised secondary burial. After the flesh had decayed the long bones were collected and placed against the wall of a funerary chamber with the skull on top. At a later date, in the coastal



FIGURE 7 — Ghassulian ossuaries in the form of houses.
(after J. PERROT, in *Atiqot*, III and W.F. ALBRIGHT, *The Archaeology of Palestine*.)

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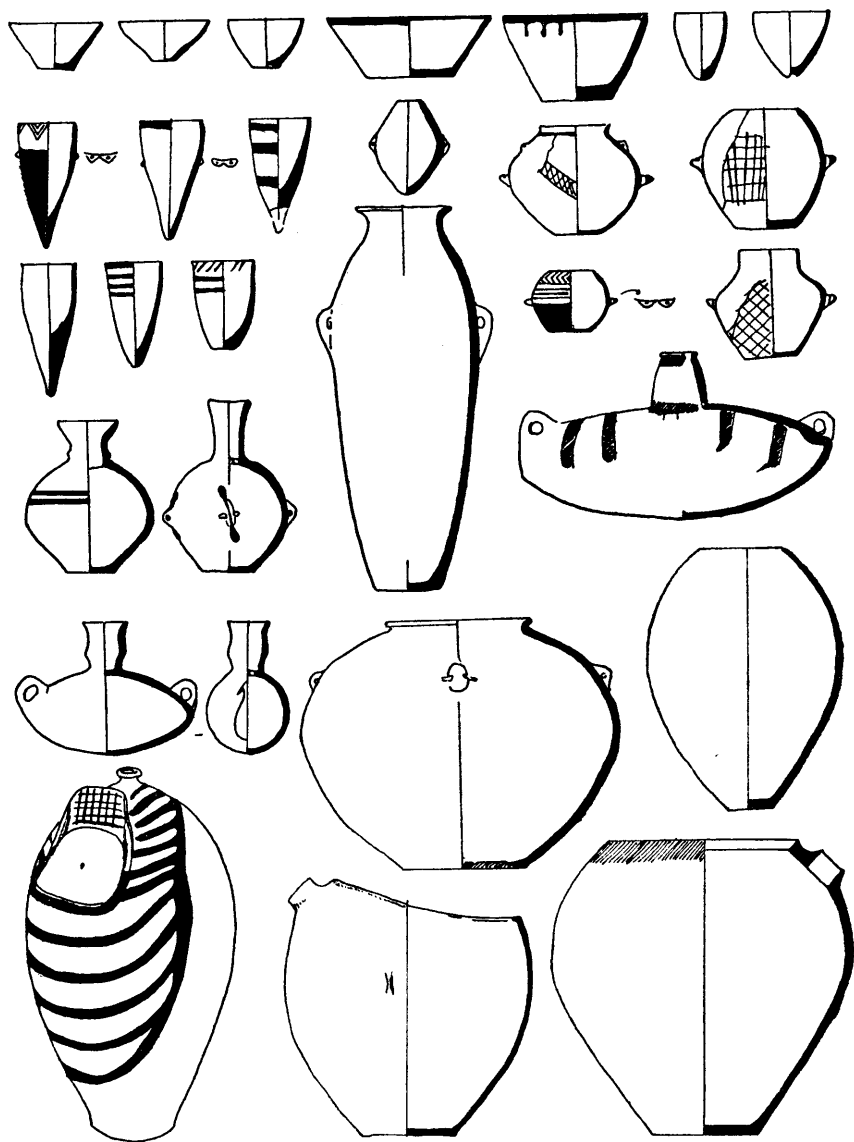


FIGURE 8 — Ghassulian pottery.
(after J. PERROT, in *Atiqot*, III and Père A. MALLON *Teleilat Ghassul*.)

plain, the bones were placed in an ossuary, a clay box in the form of a house or animal (Fig.7; Plates I-II). This was set on a ledge in a funeral cave, often artificially hollowed out in the soft rock of the country.

It would appear that the bearers of this culture were of a semi-nomadic stock which had migrated into the northern Negeb near Beersheba during the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. They settled in an area with poor soil for agriculture, upon the edges of the Sinai Desert. Their marginal position was fraught with danger and finally abandoned about 3150 B.C. after the settlements had passed through three successive phases of building.

The six settlements of the Beersheba Group, which extended for a few miles along the bank of the Wadi es-Sab, seem to have formed an independent social and economic unit numbering between 500 and 1000 inhabitants. Each settlement, comprising from fifteen to twenty dwellings with a population not in excess of 200 people, shows a certain degree of industrial specialisation. Ivory and soft stone were carved at Safadi, for example, and there was copper-working at Abu Matar.

From the very beginning stock-breeding was the predominant occupation. The populace kept sheep, goats, small cattle and dogs, but pigs were rare. At one settlement, Khirbet Bitar, they hunted gazelles, but hunting was a minor pursuit, since arrowheads were not found. To supplement their food, they grew emmer and einkorn wheat, two-row barley and lentils. The grain was reaped with sickles of flint and sifted in straw sieves. One of the sieves has miraculously survived in the cave of Wadi Mishmar near Engedi above the Dead Sea. The grain was ground on saddle querns, parched in ovens and stored in baskets or in bell-shaped grain pits covered with flat stones at floor-level.

The discovery of churns suggests the making of butter. Their shapes, imitating skin containers of a type still in use among the

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Bedouin, are a characteristic feature of this once semi-nomadic culture (Fig.8, Pl. V).

The dwellings of these people were peculiar. In this strange country, extremely hot during the summer day, chilly at night and at all times exposed to sandstorms, subterranean houses were made by burrowing as deep as five metres into the soft loess of the wadi side. Their first houses were rectangular rooms opening onto a horizontal passage cut into the wadi terrace. In the soft soil, rectangular rooms did not keep their shape for long. Round or oval rooms soon took their place, interconnected by tunnels and entered through a vertical shaft or a flight of steps (Pl. IIIa). At Safadi, rooms are grouped around a hall, measuring ten by three metres, which may have served as a communal or ceremonial hall (Pl. IV). At Khirbet Bitar only one subterranean house was found.

These structures were provided with basins and hearths. They had bell-shaped silos below the floor (plate Va), and we know they were lit by lamps.

At a later date, when the subterranean dwellings had collapsed, round and oval houses were built in the hollows thus formed on the surface. These houses were built of mud-brick on stone foundations and had flat roofs at surface-level made of tree trunks and earth (Pl. Vb). Still others were built in the same way above the surface.

Numerous mat impressions on pots show that weaving was widely practised. Spindle-whorls, loomweights and wool-combs are found in every settlement, so it is likely that the floors of the buildings were covered with mats.

The pottery (Fig.8, Pls.VI-VII) of this culture is distinctive, but it has a utilitarian flavour and cannot be called beautiful. Small bowls, often painted with red bands round the lip (as in the Shuna I culture) served as cups, with coarser vessels for lamps. Larger bowls probably contained food. Storage jars and cooking pots are of the hole-mouth type, having small, vertically placed lugs for

tying on covers of cloth or skin (Pl. VII). This was a necessary precaution in a dusty country, filled with flies and ants. Pottery lids were unknown. It is obvious that such small lugs were not strong enough, nor would it be practical to suspend a storage jar, often two feet high and full of food. Where suspension is intended, as in one of the ubiquitous churns (Pl. VI), very stout handles were made. Other vessels had sieves in the spouts suggesting the preparation of drinks that needed straining. Large storage vessels with open spouts suggest liquid contents.

At the end of the Ghassulian Period a highly characteristic vessel appeared, called the cornet, which was frequently painted (Fig.8). A ceremonial use is suggested by its shape of a bull's horn and it may have been used as a rhyton for pouring libations.

Except for red bands, painting is not a common form of ornament on this pottery, especially in the late phase. Far more common are finger impressions, rope decoration, plastic bands, combing and simple incision.

Vessels set on a hollowed-out pedestal are characteristic of this culture. They have been called incense burners, but traces of burning are not usually apparent. They may have served a ritual purpose, or they may have been generally useful as small "tables" for people who ate seated on the floor (Fig.9). They are undoubtedly related to, if not pottery copies of, the pedestalled basalt bowls which appear frequently in sets of three in the Beersheba culture (Pl. VIII). A pedestalled bowl is accompanied by two truncated conical bowls without pedestal. They are frequently ornamented with incised and hatched triangles on the interior of the rim, in numbers which are generally a multiple of seven (Fig. 9). Others are decorated on the outside with patterns derived from basketry (Fig.9). The basalt used was brought from the highlands east of the Jordan River. These bowls were but one product of a highly developed stone industry. Numerous pear-shaped mace-heads were also made, some in hæmatite, a black iron ore, others in

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veined limestone or in a soft local limestone painted with red vertical bands. Still others were already produced in pure copper, obtained from malachite ores. These were mined in Wadi Feinan (biblical Punon), a hundred kilometers east of Beersheba in the hills east of the Wadi Araba, southeast of the Dead Sea. In the coppersmith's workshop at Abu Matar, a metal working centre, the malachite ore was pulverised on flint anvils and smelted in earthen furnaces, after a reduction with charcoal. Primitive bellows must have produced the necessary temperatures. After refining in crucibles, the copper was poured into open moulds for the manufacture of tools: awls, punches, points, chisels, flat axes, hoes, mace-heads and jewellery. The products display a high degree of technical skill.

The Beersheba people wore narrow loincloths and garments fastened with pins of bone and ivory. Black, green and red face and eye paints were used. As in Egypt, they were a necessity in this hot, dry climate and were crushed on flat polished marble palettes of rectangular shape. Articles of jewellery were numerous: bracelets of stone and ivory, beads of frit or faience, Red Sea and Nile Valley shells, pendants of mother-of-pearl, bone, ivory and turquoise were popular. Many of these materials could be obtained only by trade. Two ivory pins with terminals have been unearthed, one in the shape of a bird, the other in the form of a female figurine.

A series of remarkable ivory figurines was found, complete with work-bench, including a copper tool in a bone handle (Pl. VIII b). Nearby lay the raw material consisting of an elephant's tusk. The figurines, both male and female (Pls. IX-XI) up to 13 inches in height, show naked or near-naked persons with hands at the waist. The men are tall and thin, while the women are slender with small breasts, and exaggerated stomach, enormous navel and a strongly marked pubic triangle, but no steatopygy. The fingers and toes are delicately carved and special care is bestowed on the heads. The eyes are frequently inlaid and rows of holes in

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the jaw and head served for the attachment of beard and hair (Pl. IX). One woman's head has the hair gathered on top, falling down in a pony-tail; a bird-headed pin crowns the coiffure (Pl. X). Other ivory carvings include a hippopotamus head, an

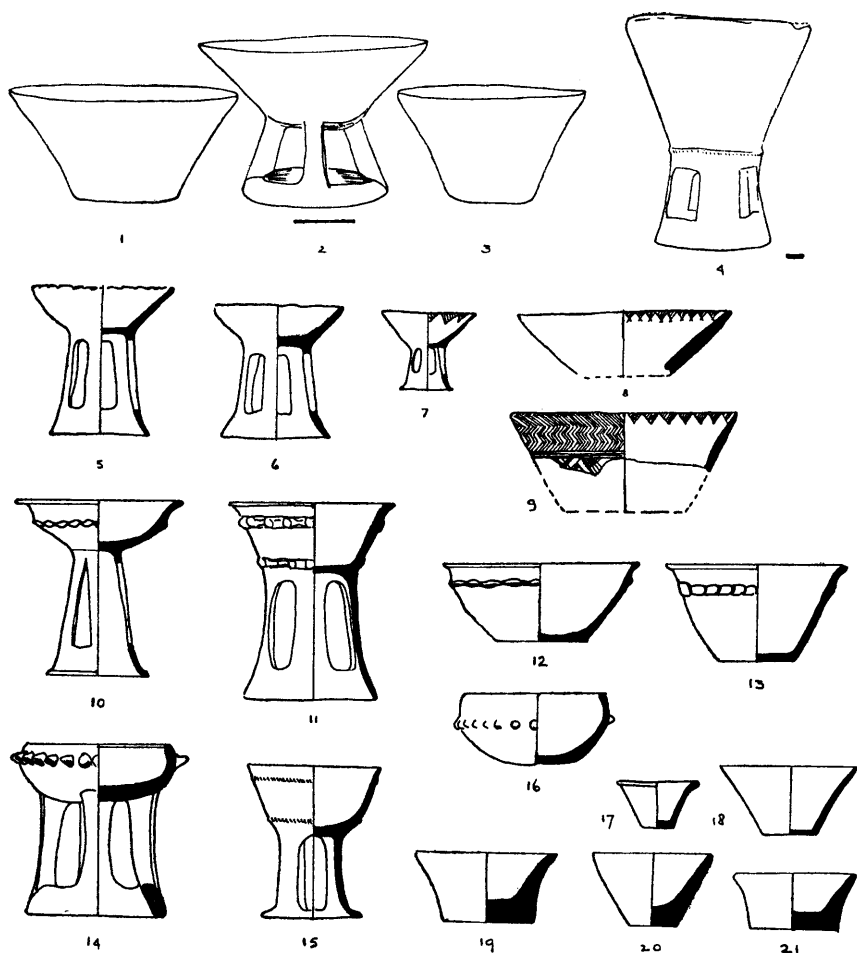


FIGURE 9 — Ghassulian stone vessels and their pottery copies (two top rows) and imitations in Esdraclon ware (two bottom rows). (after J. PERROT, in *Archaeology*, 12; M. DOTHAN, in *Atiqot*, II, and *IEJ*, VII; Père R. DE VAUX, in *RB*, 1949, and *OIP*, St. 10.)

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animal which during this period was still a native of the coastal plain of Palestine; a bell-shaped object with a snake-like ornament, several plaques and roundels, handles for tools and daggers and a plaque with open-work carving.

It is thought that these figurines do not represent deities, but rather their worshippers in a state of ritual nakedness. They resemble a scene on a fragmentary wallpainting of a later date at Teleilat Ghassul; there a naked figure stands in front of two seated divinities. Sexual symbols and schematic representations of both humans and animals suggest a fertility cult. Curious groups of painted pebbles are placed in multiples of seven on the floors of the dwellings. They are marked in red paint with crosses, darts, squares, etc. perhaps suggesting ancestor worship. The archaeologist is tempted to connect the basalt bowls, decorated with triangles in multiples of seven with the above cult, the origins of which in Palestine may go back to the remote Natufian Period. Both at Eynan (Ain Mallaha) and at Beldibi near Antalya, on the south coast of Turkey, we find pebbles painted or arranged in groups, in possibly related Mesolithic cultures.

Before discussing the later development of this culture, the classical Ghassulian IV, it is best to explore its origin.

The Beersheba culture represents an attempt by a partly nomadic people to settle in the semi-arid zone of southern Palestine around 3500 B.C.

This culture arrived fully fledged, complete with a high level of food production, good pottery, developed copper-working and stone and ivory-carving. Where had they learned these crafts which are not normally associated with semi-nomads? How did they come to settle in such an unlikely part of Palestine, unless they entered from the southern end of the Dead Sea? A northern origin is suggested by the tradition of metallurgy, plus the physical types represented both in the ivory figurines and in the skeletal remains of part of the population. Traditions of ivory-carving obviously came

from areas where elephant tusks were available. This was in North Syria, according to records of elephant hunts, in the country of Niya, near Aleppo. Copper-working in that area is a theoretical possibility, for Jebel Hass, southeast of Aleppo, provides copper ore and the area is suitable for a semi-nomadic existence. The pottery displays affinity with the Shuna ware, which can be traced back to Amuq D wares. The latter were new at that time and may have been introduced from further north. We have no other evidence for an East Anatolid-Armenoid element in the population, but in later times such elements, probably from the east Anatolian mountains originally, were found in this area. The population mixture in the Beersheba culture may go back to their country of origin, for there is no evidence that the area where they settled was already inhabited.

The practice of secondary burial does not help us solve the riddle of the two racial groups. Nothing is known about funerary customs in North Syria, although secondary burial was known in Neolithic Anatolia among the long-and short-headed people of Çatal Hüyük. But for the fact that the Beersheba people probably came from the north, further definition depends on future discoveries.

The Beersheba culture was apparently confined to the northern Negeb, but in its third phase (Pl. XIIb), that of the houses above ground, it spread northward. The culture expanded into the coastal plain of Palestine and along the shores of the Dead Sea and the lower Jordan Valley. It is from the large site of Teleilat Ghassul (Map II) there, that this later phase, dated to the 33rd century B.C., takes the name of *Ghassulian*. It gradually spread over the rest of Palestine to the Lebanese border, during which time other elements from the north (the so-called Late Chalcolithic culture) were establishing themselves — or had already done so — in northern Palestine. Archaeological evidence suggests that on the whole, these events were not accompanied by violence.

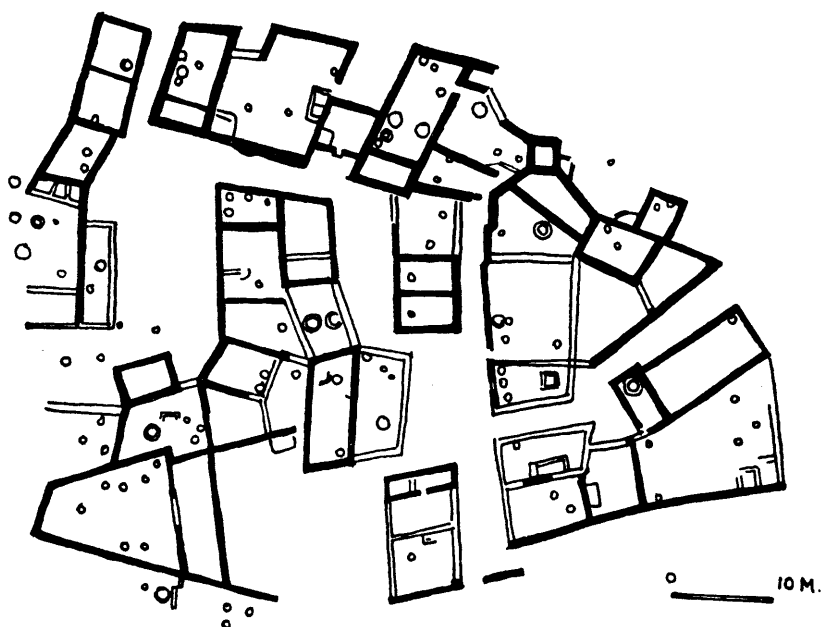


FIGURE 10 — Plan of part of the settlement of Tell el Ghassul (after Père A. MALLON, *Tell Ghassul*, I.)

THE GHASSULIAN CULTURE PROPER (Map II).

Their large size is often a feature of the Ghassulian settlements in the southern Jordan Valley. The excavations at Ghassul show that it had the character of a village (Fig.10). This is the period called "proto-urban" by Dr. K. Kenyon. The step towards urbanisation had not yet been taken, but its approach is obvious.

Houses of mud-brick on stone foundations were built on a rectangular plan with one large and one small room. Access was by a door set in either the narrow side or the middle of the long room. These houses were free-standing and included a walled courtyard.

A different type of house, built of lath and plaster on a wooden

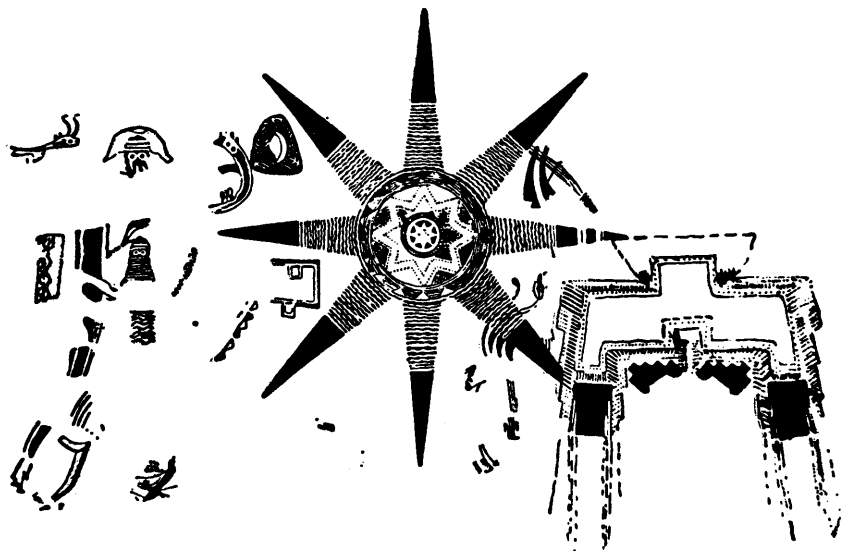


FIGURE 11 — Polychrome wall-painting from Tell el Ghassul with restoration of building on the right after P. Bar-Adon. (*ibid.*, frontispiece and *IEJ*, 12, 1962.)

frame of posts and beams, with an arched or gabled roof (Fig.7, Pls. I-II), would appear to have been most common in what was then the marshy and wooded region of the coastal plain. Such houses can be restored by the evidence of many ossuaries dating from the 33rd and first half of the 32nd centuries B.C. These have been found at Hudeirah, Yazur, Bnei Braq and Tell Aviv. The rectangular houses were entered from the narrow side and windows were found in all walls except the one with the door. Painting indicates the ridge beam, the door, the structure of the timber frame and the roof thatched with reeds. Simple houses of this type were evidently not out of place in this region, adapted as they were to local building materials. They may be traditional, having earlier origins, like the wooden houses copied in the coffins of Archaic Egypt.

At Ghassul numerous houses were ornamented with wall-paintings in red, black and white on cream plaster. The most

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famous of these is a great star (Fig.11) reminiscent of a polychrome plate of the late Halaf Period. It is surrounded by monsters, including one (Fig.12) that may represent an elephant drawn from description, fish, and unexplained symbols or objects. The structure restored on the right probably shows a 'temple' similar to those in the ossuaries. Another fragment displayed a naked figure in adoration before two seated divinities. Other schematic paintings, have been found during recent excavations. The art of wall-painting, which reached great sophistication at Ghassul, appears to have left few traces on the pottery (Fig.8). The ware, though often painted, shows lack of imagination in the choice of motifs.

The cemetery of Ghassul was excavated at Wadi al-Azeimeh not far away. The dead were buried in individual cist graves in a contracted position. The graves were then covered with a circular stone cairn, a form of burial which is in marked contrast to that of the coastal plain, where the bones of the dead were placed in ossuaries, set on a ledge in an artificial burial cave. It would seem that the ancient racial dichotomy of the culture persisted, with the Mediterranean element clinging to its old nomadic form of burial under cairns, and the East Anatolid element continuing the old rite of secondary burial.

Continuity is also marked in the pottery and stone vessels, where there is comparatively little change. At this time cornets and stone bowls were imitated in grey pottery by the newcomers in the north (Fig.9: 10-21). Ivory-carving continued, but few pieces have been unearthed.

The most spectacular technological advances may be seen in the field of metallurgy. In a cave, south of Engedi on the western shore of the Dead Sea, a hoard of not less than 630 copper objects was found, some years ago. They were wrapped in matting and obviously deposited there for safekeeping at a time of danger, then never recovered (Pl. XIIIa). Besides numerous mace-heads (Pl. XIVa) of the type already known from Abu Matar,

there are many tools such as hammers and chisels for carpentry, flat "axes" for digging and hoeing, plus a fine decorated crown (Pl. XIVb). More important are a number of sceptre-heads, richly ornamented with grooves, ribs and diagonal fluting (Pl. XV). The finest is a sceptre-head ending in two heads of ibex; lower down appears a ram's head with twisted horns, flanked on either side by two more ibex or antelope's heads (Pl. XIIIb). This object shows superb observation and excellent craftsmanship. The entire hoard is now thought to be a temple treasure. This would explain its richness and the ceremonial objects. This theory has been confirmed by the actual discovery, in 1962, of the temple from which the treasure was removed (Pl. XIIa).

The temple, occupying the terrace north of the spring of Engedi, consists of a large courtyard, surrounded by a main building on its north side, a smaller building on the east, a gatehouse in the south side, facing the spring, and a second gate in the east wall, north of the smaller building leading to a second spring. A stone wall connects these structures to unify them. A small round structure, a sort of high place, stands at the centre of the courtyard. The gatehouse is a small rectangular room with two doors facing each other and benches all round the room. The east building has a plastered floor, a doorway in the middle of the long wall and a pavement of stones leading to it. The main sanctuary, 20 metres long, is entered in the middle of the long side. Opposite the entrance, a hoof-shaped altar is sunk in the ground and fenced off, containing animal bones, ashes and sherds of cornets and cups. Rows of small holes dug in the floor at the two ends of the building contain similar deposits. Stone benches extend along the wall on either side of the altar, in the centre of the room and along the entrance wall. Among the finds was the clay model of a bull carrying a pair of churns. (ILN, April 13, 1963). The building shows some similarity to the Late Chalcolithic shrine at Megiddo (XIX), which is probably about a century later in date (Fig.13). The Engedi sanctuary can

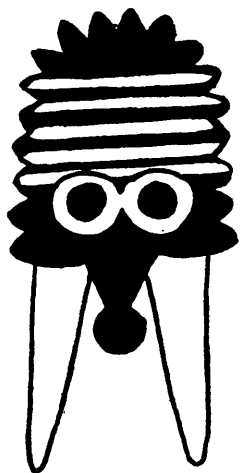


FIGURE 12 — Detail of fig. 11, showing “elephant”. (after J. PERROT, in *Atiqot*, III.)

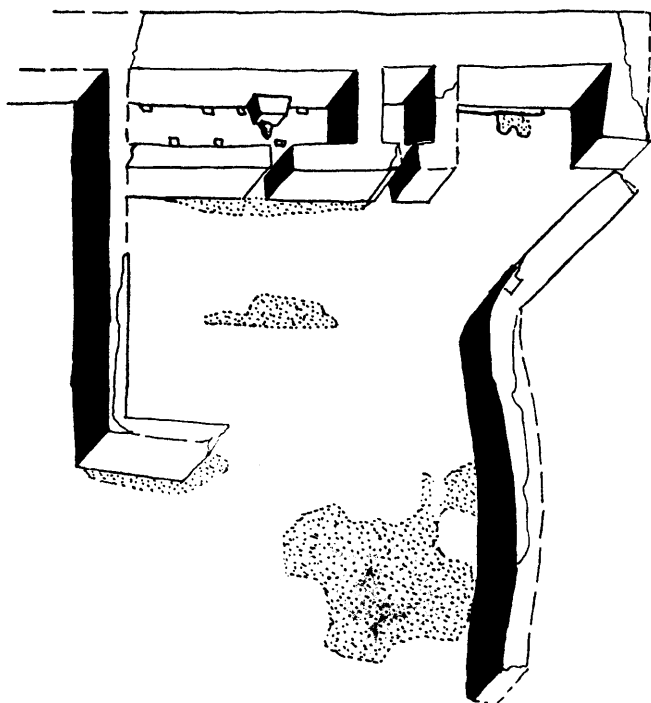


FIGURE 13 — Isometric reconstruction of shrine of Megiddo XIX with “mosaic” pavement in front courtyard. (redrawn from *OIP*, LXII.)

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be dated with its treasure to the 33rd century B.C. and must have been the main temple of the district.

The date of its abandonment would seem to coincide with that of numerous other sites and with the violent destruction of Ghassul and the end of its culture. Only in the coastal plain did the culture linger on for another century. It is not yet known what caused the catastrophe, but it was probably related to the establishment of new elements in the lower Jordan Valley and the Judaeian uplands. This is a convenient point to look north once again, and describe the events which took place in Syria during the course of the fourth millennium.

CHAPTER III

NORTH SYRIAN DEVELOPMENT DURING THE FOURTH MILLENNIUM B.C.: THE UBAID AND URUK PERIODS

Soon after 4000 B.C., North Syria came under the influence of the Ubaid culture of Mesopotamia which must be held responsible for the end of its brilliant Halaf predecessor. How far the actual conquest extended is unknown; throughout Mesopotamia it developed the first urban civilisation with great towns, temples and, no doubt, palaces for its rulers (none have been excavated). Its influence was strongly felt beyond its political boundaries.

Ubaid influences reached the shores of Lake Urmia in Iranian Azerbaijan, and left their imprint on the Anatolian Plateau around Malatya, north of the Euphrates Gorge. They swamped the foothills of the Taurus and even reached Mersin at the extreme western end of the Cilician Plain.

North Syria felt these influences strongly, probably because the area furnished the timber necessary for construction of the much enlarged temples and palaces of Southern Mesopotamia. The felled trees were probably floated down the Euphrates.

Only the high forested ranges of Amanus and Taurus could satisfy the ever-increasing demand for large timber, pine, cedar and box-wood.

We are ignorant of the architecture of fourth millennium Syria. After excavations at seven different sites we know only that rectangular houses were built of mud-brick on stone foundations.

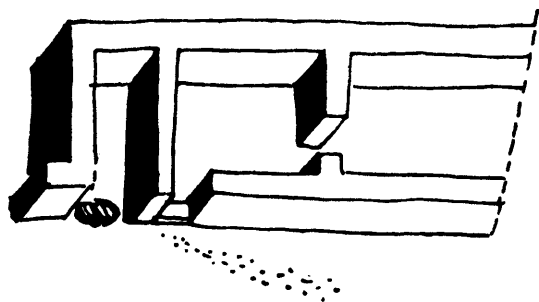


FIGURE 14 — A house of the North Syrian Ubaid culture from Tabara el Akrad in the Amuq.
(after S. HOOD, in *AS*, I.)

One single house plan is known from the Amuq (Fig.14), at Tabara el Akrad, Level VII, dating from late in the Ubaid Period.

The pottery is the only guide to the complexities of this period. As in the northeast of Mesopotamia, at Tepe Gawra, Halaf strains died hard and left their imprint on the local products in North Syria during the Ubaid Period. On the Balikh River, birds and other traditional elements persisted in the monotonous, uninspired repertoire of painted patterns that has come to be associated with Ubaid pottery. West of the Euphrates, even within the confines of the Amuq plain (phase E), ugly Ubaid wares at Tell Judeideh are found, side-by-side with more inspired wares at the neighbouring village of Karaca-Sheikh Ali. Both look provincial compared to the products of Tell esh-Sheikh (Fig.15) in the same plain, which skilfully blended Halaf patterns with newer Ubaid elements and shapes. The dark-faced wares, long in use in the plain, disappeared. Further west, on the coast of Ras Shamra (III.2) local blends again appear, among which painted ornament combined with impressed pointillé patterns are outstanding. The latter, also known from Mersin, is similar in technique to the Wadi Rabah ware of the coastal plain of Palestine. In view of these numerous local versions of painted pottery, when dealing with this area, it seems justified to qualify

North Syrian Development

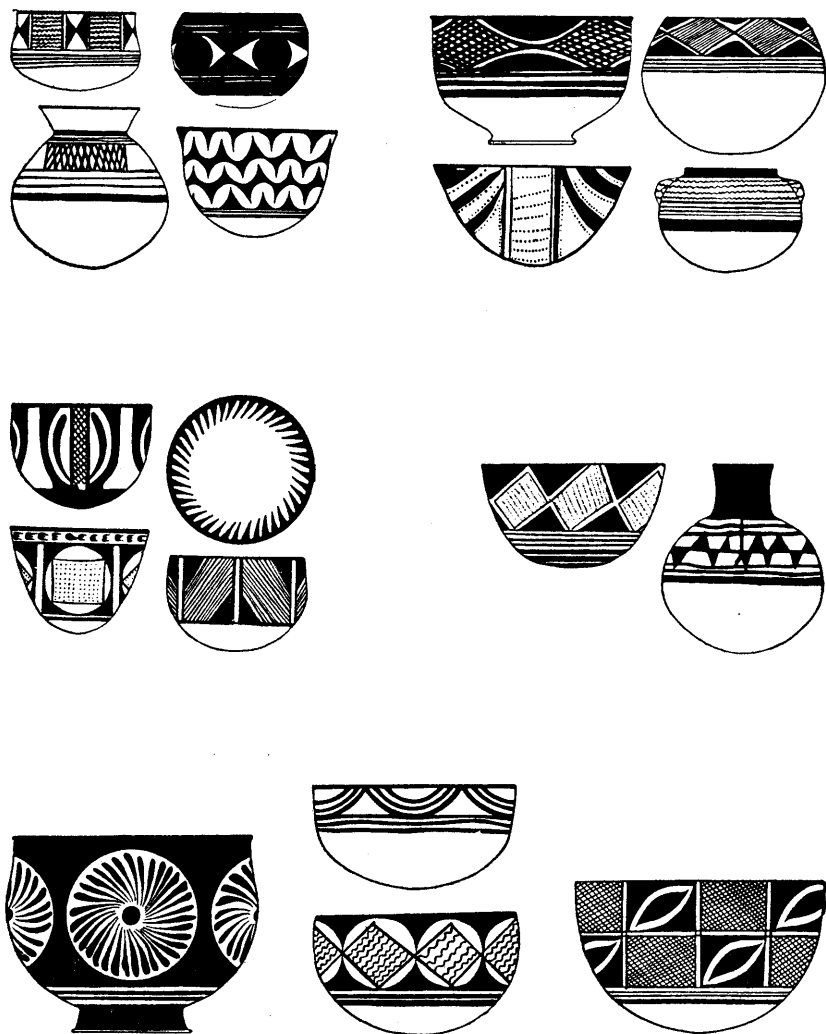


FIGURE 15 — Tell esh-Sheikh pottery from the Amuq plain (Ubaid period).
(after Sir L. WOOLLEY, in *AJA*.)

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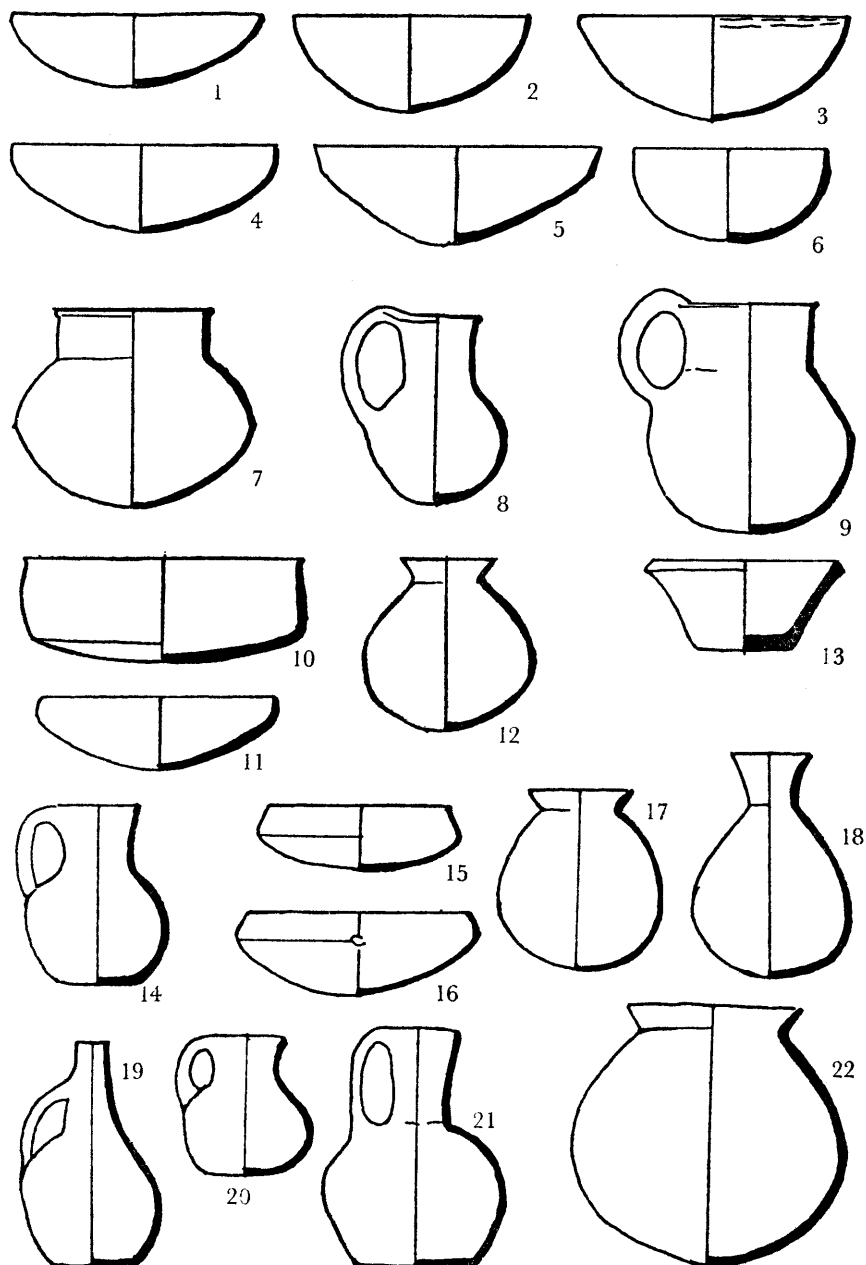


FIGURE 16 — Late Chalcolithic pottery from Tarsus in Cilicia (1-9); Amuq F (10-12); Hama (13); the Byblos B cemetery (14-21) and Lebea (22).
(after H. GOLDMAN, *Tarsus*, II; *OIP*, LXI; D. BARAMKI, *Phoenicia*, and C. SCHAEFFER, *Stratigraphie Comparée*.)

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the term Ubaid with the prefix Syrian. New shapes and techniques were adopted, but decorative patterns were original. In Syria, Ubaid influences reached as far south as Hama. Byblos appears to have been deserted during this period, which may not have been of long duration. However, at Ras Shamra there are not less than seven phases of building.

THE LATE CHALCOLITHIC. AMUQ F AND BYBLOS 'B' PERIODS.

Towards the middle of the fourth millenium, about 3600 B.C., there appears new evidence for profound changes in culture and population, not only in North Syria, but also at Byblos, which was now reoccupied. In the north, the long period which had seen the rise and fall of numerous successive painted pottery cultures, came to an end. In north Syria, Amuq E (Ubaid) gives way to Amuq F (Fig.16: 10-12), and in parts of Cilicia new wares occur in a Late Chalcolithic cemetery at Tarsus. (Fig.16: 1-9). They were closely related to those further east. In the south the only evidence for the culture of this period comes from Hama and Byblos. Red slipped pottery, finely burnished, and accompanied by plain buff wares, was still handmade like the earlier wares. This took the place of painted wares from Tarsus to Byblos. Many of the shapes show somewhat metallic profiles, sharp indentations and curves on rims and bodies, plus a new feature. This latter was the first proper handle, which was unknown in the area until this period. Jugs are innovations; many vessels have rounded bases, which required irregular floors or pot-stands to keep their balance. The so-called bevelled rim bowl occurs in a clumsy shape, probably votive (Fig. 16: 13). It is undoubtedly of Mesopotamian origin and occurs as far south as Hama. Beyond the Euphrates lie the domains of a new culture. Characterised by red and grey burnished wares, it was called the Uruk-Gawra culture after its two most celebrated sites in the south and north of Mesopotamia respectively. Syria and Lebanon showed their usual distinct local peculiarities, though

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archaeologists agree that the newer fashion was somehow linked to new developments further east. The fuller implications, in cultural and ethnic terms, of this momentous change will be described in a subsequent chapter (IV, p.53 ff).

Byblos B, as the new culture is called (ca. 3500-3200 B.C.), covered the entire acropolis of this famous site with houses. Sometimes linked by paved lanes within the settlement, the houses were rectangular at first, then round and finally apsidal. Metal was known, and copper, gold and silver were in use. Silver suggests trade with Anatolia, the only country where it was known to occur in any quantity. Similarities in the pottery of this period tend to confirm that trade relations already existed. Most of the metal objects, such as copper daggers (Fig.17) and gold and silver trinkets, came from a cemetery outside the settlement. In this necropolis not less than eighteen hundred burials were found with bodies deposited in great ribbed jars (Fig.18). These were frequently cut to allow the insertion of burials, and not purposely shaped, as in the case of the Ghassulian pot-shaped ossuaries (Fig.8, bottom left). Similar pot burials occurred at Hama (Fig.16: 12), further north on the Orontes. In Anatolia such burials in pots are a feature of the Late Chalcolithic Period. At Byblos no strict orientation can be observed in the graves. The dead were buried with pottery — mostly red-slipped and burnished (Fig.16: 14-21) and metal. A number of vessels were decorated with stampseal impressions which can be dated after 3500 B.C. and are similar to those of Warka V in Southern Mesopotamia.

Wheel-made pottery appears towards the end of this period, but it is still slipped and burnished and often decorated.

The following stage of development, dated to ca. 3200-3000 B.C. (phase IV) shows long houses, grouped together in enclosures instead of free-standing. Metal was common. From this building level come the first cylinder-seal impressions of a type known in Mesopotamia at Jemdet Nasr, where they start before 3100 B.C.

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In North Syria they first appeared in the Amuq G phase; both here and at Byblos they are the first representatives of a seal that was rolled over clay and not stamped on it. Their appearance west of the Euphrates implies long distance contacts with Mesopotamia. From Byblos some may have reached Egypt just before the beginning of the First Dynasty, for it is clear that Byblos was the source to which the Egyptians came for timber.

By the end of this period, about 3200 B.C., we reach the beginning of the Early Bronze Age with full urbanisation. Byblos was emerging as the greatest trading port on the Levant coast of the Mediterranean. Its further development belongs to a later chapter (V, p. 64).

LATE CHALCOLITHIC PALESTINE — A MELTING POT OF CULTURES (Map II).

Contemporary developments south of the Lebanon are more complicated to follow. There was the arrival of miscellaneous groups of people, each with their own pottery, which gradually amalgamated and so gave rise to the full establishment of an urban culture in the Early Bronze Age.

The exact course of events has not yet been made clear and is somewhat complex. Archaeological remains are often insufficient and the interpretations put on them controversial. The old scheme of a number of successive cultures has proved to be untenable since there are considerable overlaps and various admixtures, which are not always geographically clear.

The cultural sequence of this period can be tabulated in abbreviated form.

- C. 31st century B.C. Round and rectangular houses, city walls.
E.B.I pottery. Rare survivals of grey and Ghassulian wares.
- B. 32nd century B.C. Grey and red wares, apsidal houses, but with Ghassulian survivals in the north.

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A. 33rd century B.C. Ghassulian with rectangular houses. At some places grey and Umm Hamad esh-Sherqi ware.

The previously described Ghassulian culture flourished mainly in the 33rd century B.C. and corresponds to phase A of the above scheme and perhaps part of B. It may have survived in a number of places outside the coastal plain where it definitely continued for another century. Evidence seems to indicate that this culture lasted longer in the north, but some of its pottery, especially the cornet rhytons, may have been adopted and were actually made by the newcomers from the north. It was these people who introduced the grey and red wares and who seem to have introduced the apsidal form of house-plan. It is not known who was responsible for the destruction of Ghassul and the abandonment of so many Ghassulian settlements. The new elements, either the people in the Jordan Valley or the people who introduced the painted wares of phase C at Jericho and in the hill zone around Jerusalem, would have been in a position to endanger Ghassul and the rich shrine at Engedi.

Apart from this, there is little evidence for warfare and raids, though the absence of defensive walls does not necessarily mean peaceful conditions. Raids on villages and encampments are of far greater antiquity than urban settlement and generally increased as populations grew and land became scarcer. A deterioration of conditions in the valleys of Late Chalcolithic Palestine may well have led to the construction of walled towns.

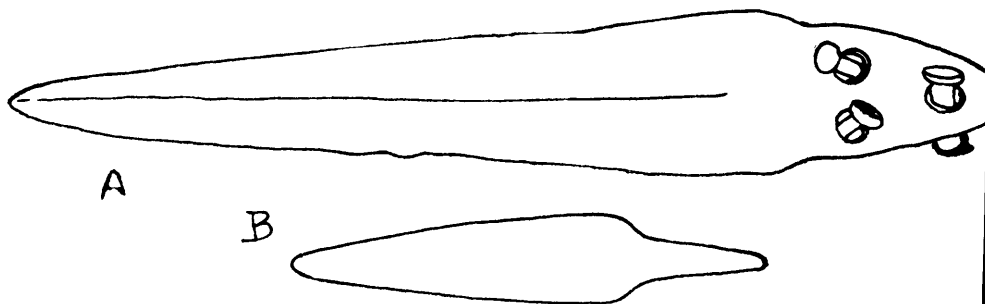


FIGURE 17 — Late Chalcolithic copper daggers: a) from Byblos; b) from Büyük Güllücek (after M. DUNAND, *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, and H.Z. KOŞAY, *Bü. Güllücek Kazisi*).

North Syrian Development

Different groups of newcomers appear to have shared the custom of collective burial. Contrasting with the funerary customs of the earlier population, their tombs were cut in soft rock, probably with copper axes. Tomb A 94 at Jericho, however, shows that strange burial habits still occurred. In the centre of the tomb a large pyre, surrounded by 135 skulls partly blackened by fire, was found. On this pyre the headless, decomposed bodies were burned. Round the tombs lay hundreds of pots, deposited with the dead.

The first intrusive elements appear to have arrived during the 33rd century, perhaps earlier. They can be recognised by their distinctive red and grey, so-called Esdraelon wares. These outsiders occupied the northern part of the country, the Esdraelon Valley and the hills bordering the coastal plain and the greater part of the Jordan Valley as far as Jericho. The coastal plain, the Judaeian uplands and the southeast corner of the Jordan Valley remained Ghassulian. Umm Hamad esh-Sherqi pottery is found only in the Jordan Valley (and Tell Farah) from Beisan to Tell Alayiq. It had a more restricted distribution than the burnished red and grey wares, which extend up to the Lebanese border. It would appear that the pink Umm Hamad esh-Sherqi pottery was a local development of the Jordan Valley. Some shapes were evidently derived from the red burnished ware, such as cups with high loop handles rising above the rim.

The burnished grey ware (Esdraelon ware) shows few shapes, among which are a bowl and a pedestal bowl with cut-out openings in the pedestal (Fig.9:10-16). Both shapes are frequently decorated with oval bosses, knobs, etc. These vessels give the impression of a luxury ware and were almost certainly copies of stone vessels, similar to the grey basalt bowls of related shape in the Beersheba-Ghassulian culture. Although pedestalled bowls are a feature of Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Anatolia, nothing similar to them is known there and the parallels sometimes suggested are therefore fortuitous. Both areas used pedestal bowls, but here the

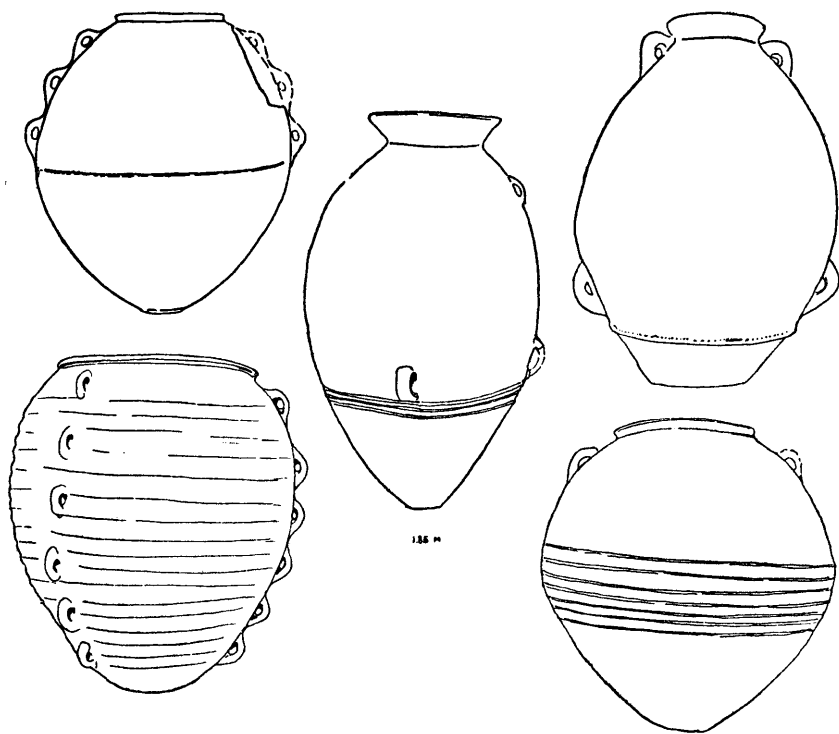


FIGURE 18 — Burial jars from the Late Chalcolithic cemetery of Byblos.
(after M. DUNAND, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 1955-56.)

resemblance ends. Similar ware has not been found so far in Syria or Lebanon, but their appearance in the latter country would not create surprise, for several other vases with cut-out pedestals are known in the Byblos B culture. A number of these bowls were copied in red burnished ware.

There remains a third element, red slipped and burnished (Fig.19). Its full variety of shapes is probably best illustrated by finds in the tombs at Tell Farah. Many of these shapes were ancestral to the Early Bronze Age wares of Palestine. Others were the earliest forms of the Syrian bottles, but the variety seems much

North Syrian Development

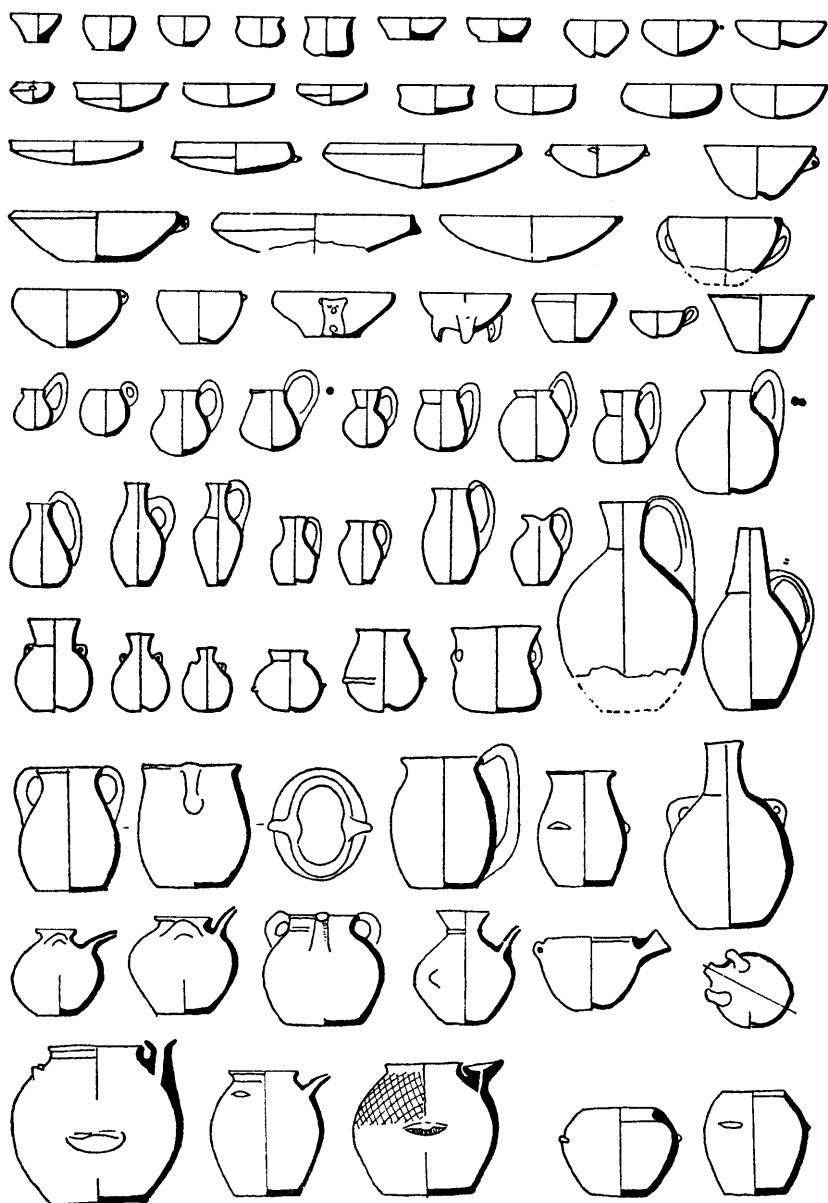


FIGURE 19 — Late Chalcolithic pottery from the cemetery of Tell Farah.
(after Père R. DE VAUX, in *RB*, 1949 ff.)

Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages in the Near East

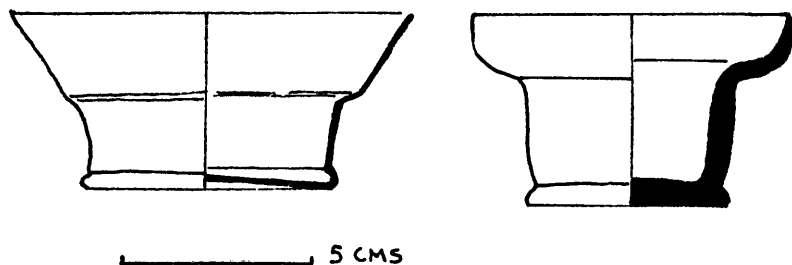


FIGURE 20 — A silver bowl from the cemetery of Tell Farah and its pottery copy from Jericho. (after Père R. DE VAUX, in *RB*, 1951.)

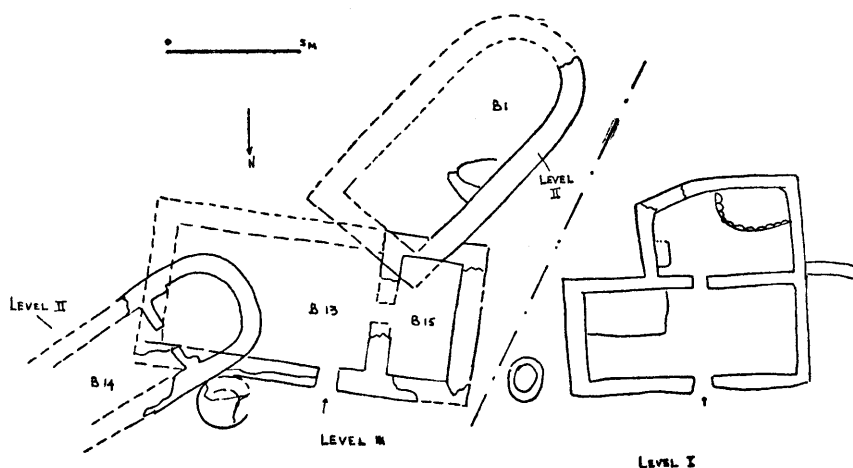


FIGURE 21 — House plans from three successive Late Chalcolithic building-levels at Kh. Meiser. Rectangular building in III, special houses in II and rectangular building in I (latest). (after M. DOTHAN, in *IEJ*, 7 and 9.)

greater than in the succeeding period where a few selected shapes were produced all over the country.

The burnished ware and some of its forms have parallels in the Lebanon, at Byblos, Lebea (Fig. 16: 22) and Gelal en-Nomus. They seem to appear as abruptly as in Palestine; so that an origin

North Syrian Development

still further north is indicated. Both the Hama and Amuq F cultures, also known from other sites further down the coast, produced some parallels. They are not as close as one might wish, nor is the evidence from these northern sites as plentiful as that of Palestine. The jug with loop-handle, a characteristic feature of this ware in Palestine, has not yet been found in the Amuq, but it does occur at Tarsus and throughout southwest Anatolia; and even in Crete. However, a direct Anatolian influence in the development of this red burnished ware may be discounted. It is far more likely that a developed copper-working tradition, perhaps somewhere in North Syria, is responsible for this pottery in which metallic features such as strap handles, sharp angles, and dimple bases are frequent.

Actual finds of metal vessels are rare; metal was precious, could be re-melted, and unlike pottery tended to corrode. A silver bowl from Tell Farah (Fig.20) has numerous parallels in clay at the same site, and also at Jericho and Tell Umm Hamad esh-Sherqi. Spouted vessels were another feature of this period (Fig.19, bottom rows). These have parallels in southern Mesopotamia as well as in Egypt, where some of the latest (made in copper) were found in the tomb of Zer, a Pharaoh of the First Dynasty.

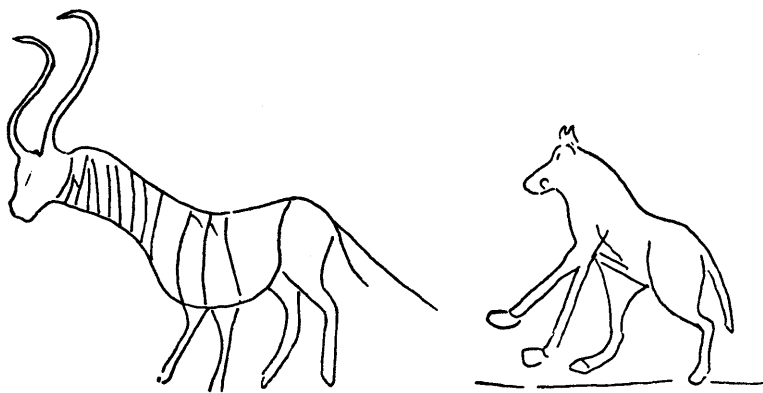


FIGURE 22 — Animal figures engraved on stones in the pavement of the shrine of Megiddo XIX. (after *OIP*, LXII.)

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The stone industry associated with this culture, different from the Ghassulian, is the so-called Canaanite one which stretches from Palestine to North Syria. It is mainly distinguished by flint knives and sickle blades.

Besides apsidal houses (Fig.21), which form a further link with Byblos, a shrine in Megiddo XIX (32nd century B.C.) (Fig.13) shows some resemblance to the Engedi one. Here again, a long sanctuary is entered by a door in the long wall. Opposite the door an altar is built against the back wall and flanked by stones and benches. The walled courtyard was paved with stones, many of which bore graffiti showing lively animal figures (Fig.22), a sketchy human being and other less obvious drawings.

Nothing is known of the cult practised in these buildings, but it was probably a fertility cult. Ritual cornets were common in this building, as in the Engedi shrine.

In the last of the three phases of this period (C), still another class of pottery arrived. This was a buff ware painted with red stripes or covered with a brown wash. Patterns are few; parallel lines, stripes and wavy lines. A few new shapes appeared: a jar with a short spout (Fig.19: bottom row) is characteristic as are bottles, two-handled jars and open bowls.

This E.B.Ia pottery, as it is often called, is particularly common in the Judean uplands around Jerusalem (Ophel, Ai, Tell Nasbeh) and at Jericho. It also occurs at Tell Farah, at Umm Hamad esh-Sherqi in the middle of the Jordan Valley and in a great tomb at Arqub el-Dhahr above Tell Shuna in North Jordan. This pottery is rare in the Jordan Valley, but appears frequently in the almost uninhabited uplands. Nothing is known of its origin. With this phase, we reach the beginning of the Early Bronze Age, about the 31st century B.C. Since it developed from the Late Chalcolithic or Proto-urban phase it is easier to draw the hypothetical dividing line in theory than in actual fact.

CHAPTER IV

TRADE AND CONTACT WITH EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA

Throughout the millennia of prehistory the rich and fertile rolling plains of North Syria absorbed cultural and ethnic elements from Mesopotamia, beyond the Euphrates. No geographical barrier impeded contact and migrations in the area east of Aleppo. From this region around the Jabbul Lake and Carchemish roads led to the Balikh Valley and beyond to the extremely important Khabur triangle, the heart of northern Mesopotamia. Further north a large region of Turkish Mesopotamia is archaeologically almost unknown. Its subsequent role in history was as a centre of important kingdoms. Mineral resources gave it the mediaeval name of Diarbakır, the "land of copper", which suggests that here may lie centres of important cultures and the keys to many problems that have bedevilled Mesopotamian archaeologists. Among these problems are the origins of Hassuna culture and that of its successor, Halaf. Another puzzle is that of the metallic copper and silver-coloured red and grey wares of the Uruk-Gawra culture that supplanted Ubaid. The Uruk wares have often been linked with Anatolia or Iran, but the proposed theories have lacked conviction. Recent work in Azerbaijan, Cilicia and southwestern Turkey show no ancestors for this characteristic pottery. The Uruk wares may have originated in Central or East Iran or in the many unexcavated sites of eastern Anatolia or the Diyarbakır region. However, there is a wide distribution of metal-working and metal-imitating pottery cultures. These follow or overlap with tenacious Ubaid elements

Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages in the Near East

throughout Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine in the Late Chalcolithic. This does not suggest that Iranians were the originators.

In Mesopotamia, the arrival of the Sumerians has often been connected with the sudden appearance of the Uruk-Gawra culture. This theory has recently been discredited, and it is now believed that the Sumerians (historically attested from about 2500 B.C. in South Mesopotamia) were the autochthonous population of this region and not an intrusive element from elsewhere.

In any case, there is no question of Sumerians in North Mesopotamia, Syria or Palestine. When North Mesopotamia emerged into history in the second half of the third millennium B.C., the rulers had Semitic names. Professor Albright has shown that a Semitic language was spoken in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine from the Late Chalcolithic or Proto-Urban Period. The evidence for this is the names of mountains, rivers and towns. Ancient Egyptian also shows traces of a Semitic language in its makeup, mainly in grammar and in forms which gradually disappeared as time progressed. In the earliest Egyptian texts that we can read and which date from the third dynasty, about 2700 B.C., the language had already diverged widely from Semitic.

Here the problem is to find out when northern Semitic elements penetrated Egyptian, which belonged to the Hamitic language-group, widespread in north and northeast Africa.

Faint traces of Egyptian contact with the Near Eastern world date back to the Mesolithic Period when settlers with a Natufian-like culture were established near Helwan, south of Cairo. The earliest settlements with agriculture and pottery are found in the Fayum about 4500 B.C., and at Merimde about 4200 B.C., according to radiocarbon determinations. Their inhabitants, however, may or may not have been of Near Eastern stock. Syrian timber was obtained during the Badari culture of Upper Egypt, about 4000 B.C., and copper was probably obtained from the mine on the western side of the Sinai Peninsula. Nevertheless, Egypt maintained

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her splendid isolation during the Amratian Period. It is only in the Gerzaean Period (ca. 3400-3100 B.C.) that we have evidence for the ever-increasing contact with Palestine and the coast of the Levant. This period is contemporary with the Late Chalcolithic or Proto-Urban of Palestine, Lebanon and Syria. Then foundations were laid for the greatness of Egypt during the Archaic period and the Old Kingdom. This period is known elsewhere as the Early Bronze Age.

At the beginning of the First Dynasty, about 3100 B.C., we are confronted with a highly sophisticated and luxurious civilisation demonstrated by monumental architecture, developed writing, advanced metallurgy, stone, ivory and wood-carving, painting, etc. This occurred far in advance of the rest of the Near East at this early phase. The explosive blossoming of culture demands a long period of previous development during the Gerzaean period, of which the hitherto excavated remains give us no indication.

Such a sudden advance in culture was obviously the result of a stimulus coming from outside Egypt. There is evidence showing the arrival, both in Lower and Upper Egypt, of a new ruling class, called "Followers of Horus". The kings and nobility of both kingdoms founded at the beginning of the Late Gerzaean Period came from this new class. It may have been these people who introduced Semitic elements into the Egyptian language. They were taller than the native Egyptians and had larger skulls. The carved ivory handle of the famous Jebel el Arak flint knife and also the wall painting from Hierakonpolis, the Upper Egyptian capital, show battle-scenes between Egyptians and foreigners, as well as Egyptian and high-prowed foreign ships. On the reverse of the knife-handle is a "Gilgamesh scene" of a bearded foreigner, Mesopotamian or Syrian, between two lions. It is plausible that the foreigners with their beards, cloaks and "Mesopotamian" ships were members of the new dynastic ruling class. These, and similar ships in rock engravings in the eastern desert along the old trade route to the

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Red Sea port of Quseir, suggest that some of the newcomers came by sea, unless the subjects depicted were battles on the Nile.

The first importation of Near Eastern pottery into Egypt may be linked to this immigration of foreigners. Here we find Late Chalcolithic Palestinian jars with wavy ledge handles, cups with high handles, jars with drooping spouts, an Esdraelon bowl, E.B. Ia painted cups and bottles, etc. There are other vessels such as squat jars with small lugs of a type well-known in Mesopotamia (since Warka VI), but also known in the Amuq, Ras Shamra, etc. Besides pottery there are four cylinder seals of Jemdet Nasr type — also known in Byblos and the Amuq G phase — and a number of decorative motifs, probably Mesopotamian, which were foreign to Egypt and never assimilated.

We are certain of two routes, the sea route from Byblos to the Delta and a second route from southern Palestine. This was either by land, skirting the Sinai Desert and then leading by Wadi Tumilat into the Delta, or by sea through the Gulf of Aqaba to the Red Sea port of Quseir and on through Wadi Hammamat to Upper Egypt. The recent discovery of the Beersheba culture in Southern Palestine which imported shells from the Red Sea and the Nile Valley points to the sea route. The wealth of Chalcolithic Byblos was probably derived from its trade with Egypt for timber and with the east for Mesopotamian products. The spouted metal jars with lugs, Jemdet Nasr type cylinder seals, etc., were probably exported to Egypt along with the timber as well as lapis lazuli although none has yet been found in the rich Byblos cemetery, where silver and obsidian evidently came from Anatolia, and ivory from either North Syria or Egypt. The bearded foreigners of the Egyptian carvings may have been people from Byblos. The Gilgamesh motif of a hero between lions, Mesopotamian though it is, reminds one that in that epic, a king of Uruk journeyed to a Cedar mountain to obtain timber for a building. Here the epic corroborates the archaeological evidence; whether the Cedar mountain was the Amanus or the

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Lebanon makes little difference in an epic. It would seem that it was through trade with the Syrian coast that the Egyptians acquired a knowledge of Mesopotamian objects. Professor Emery's suggestion that the indirect similarities of architecture and writing in both Egypt and Mesopotamia may be due to the existence of a third party that influenced both, merits consideration. Should this theory prove true, only the ruling class of the Late Chalcolithic Semites could have started the sudden bursts of civilisation in Sumer (ca. 3500 B.C.) and Egypt (ca. 3100 B.C.). They are the ones who introduced the Uruk-Warka and the various Syrian-Palestinian Late Chalcolithic cultures. In both Sumer and Egypt the foreigners had become nationalised at the dawn of history.

This theory (and at present it is no more than a theory) fits the archaeological data at our disposal, better than that of Mesopotamians from the Persian Gulf reaching Egypt via the Red Sea.

CHAPTER V

THE EARLY BRONZE AGE IN SYRIA, LEBANON AND PALESTINE

In most areas of the Near East, the Late Chalcolithic Period merged gradually into the Early Bronze Age. For the greater part of the Near East, however, this latter term is a misnomer since the common metal of this period was copper, not bronze. In Cilicia, the mainland of Greece and a few other areas, the making of bronze was introduced by new ethnic elements. Elsewhere the change to a new age was stimulated by increased prosperity. Reasons for this new affluence like the following possibilities may only be guessed. Political union occurred in Egypt and there was a centralisation of the economic pattern into city-states in Sumer or Palestine. Byblos, the Syrian coast, or the Troy I culture probably prospered through increased trade or wealth that may have been due to the effective exploitation of metal resources as in Anatolia. Cities took the place of straggling villages and power became centralised. Wealth increased, and with it, causes for war which required powerful defences to ward off enemies.

The process of urbanisation and the gradual uniformity of culture that accompanied it are probably the most characteristic features of the full Early Bronze Age. Areas such as Egypt and Mesopotamia advanced in urbanisation, while others were slower. North Syria and Byblos were probably a little ahead of Palestine, but by the beginning of the third millennium B.C. this stage was reached almost everywhere in the Near East.

The Amuq G Period (ca. 3200-2800 B.C.) represents the first

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phase of the Early Bronze Age in North Syria. It was considerably more advanced than its predecessor, from which it was probably derived. Eight successive building levels at Tell Judeideh (20-13) show the existence of mud-brick houses with rectangular rooms, pits for storage and other domestic features. Nowhere in Syria have excavations been carried out on a scale large enough to establish the complete urban character of contemporary culture, with city walls and temples, but these must have existed at this time.

The pottery of this period (Fig. 23) is wheel-made and has the "mass-produced" look that is characteristic of the Early Bronze Age south of the Taurus.

Half the pottery is a plain buff ware, but some was coated with an orange brown slip, decorated with a criss-cross burnish. Platters with rolled rims made in this ware are similar to those of Palestine, while other shapes resemble those of E.B. I at Byblos. Some of the buff ware is ornamented with painted bands of slip (the reserve-slip ware), a technique known in north Palestine as "band-slip". However, in northern Palestine it is usually a wash, red or brown. Other forms of decoration are incision, circles impressed with a reed, combed patterns or a combination of these with reserve slip. Still another group was painted in red or red-brown with a multiple brush (Fig. 23). These patterns form blocks of straight or wavy lines. Simple as they are, they form a welcome relief from the dull red and buff polished wares of the previous period.

In this pottery there are unmistakable links with the E.B. I and 2 pottery of Byblos and Palestine, but also marked differences. This is to be expected since nothing is known of the Early Bronze Age cultures of the middle and upper Orontes Valleys, or the Beqaa Valley.

Painted Syrian bottles appeared during the latter part of the Amuq G Period. They were of the type that was exported to Egypt at the end of the First Dynasty ca. 2900 B.C. (Fig. 27). These were

Early Bronze Age in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine

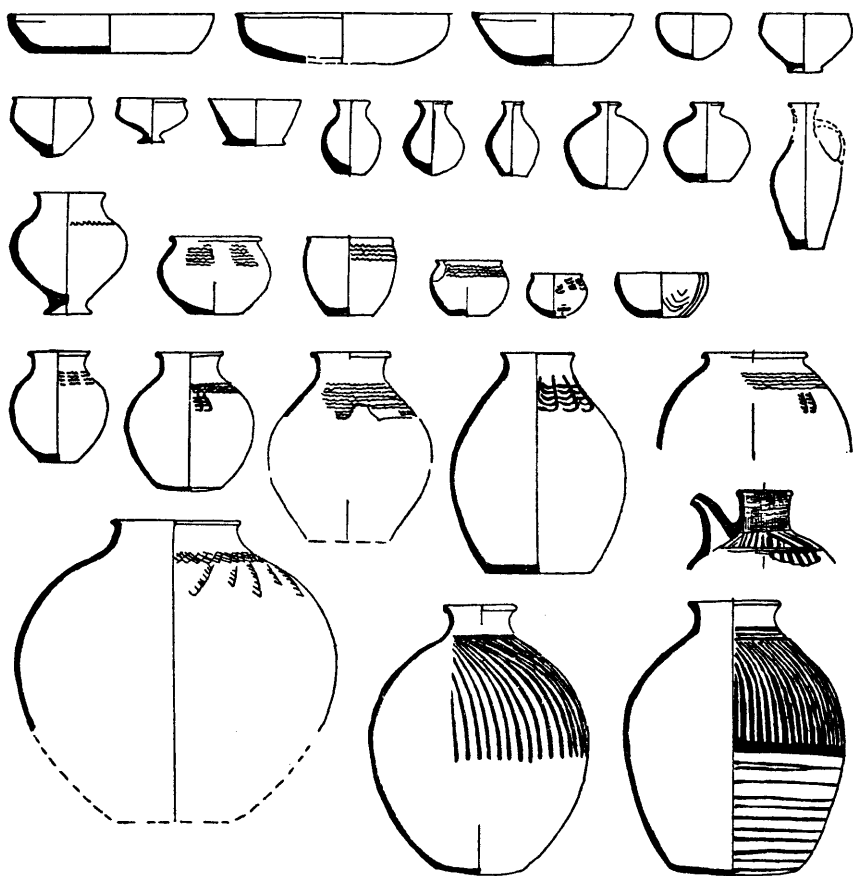


FIGURE 23 — Characteristic pottery of the Amuq G period in North Syria.
(after *OIP*, LXI, 1960.)

probably once filled with oil, and in Palestine they are dated to the E.B. 2 Period. In the Amuq, the same vessels still occurred at the beginning of the next period. It is not known whether Egyptian specimens were imported from North Syria, Byblos or Palestine, so their value as a chronological criterion is less definite than often assumed. There are also the spouted jars (Fig.23) which continue a type first established during the 32nd century in Syria and

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Palestine, but which was known earlier in Egypt and Southern Mesopotamia. Squat jars with small lugs, also known from both these countries show links between Syria and South Mesopotamia, as does the reserve slip-ware. These features are considered to be of local Syrian origin.

New in this period were the first of cylinder-seals decorated with Jemdet Nasr patterns, but almost certainly locally made. They have a small loop for suspensions, a Syrian feature not found in Mesopotamia. The flint industry was reduced to more traditional rustic tools and the Canaanite sickle-blade was as common here as in Palestine. Pear-shaped stone mace-heads, frequently imitated in copper, continued the old traditions prevalent throughout the Near East, Mesopotamia and Egypt.

At Tell Judeida a group of three male and three female figurines was found wrapped in cloth, varying in height from 14.6 to 26.5 cms. They had probably adorned a shrine or temple. These date from the end of this period or the beginning of the next, ca. 2800 B.C. The metalwork is an improvement over that of the Late Chalcolithic Engedi Shrine (33rd century).

The admixture of tin with the copper is sufficient for them to be labelled as bronzes. The ornaments are made of an alloy of copper and gold, the latter rich in silver. The figures were cast in clay moulds by the *cire perdue* (lost wax) process.

All figures are shown standing (Fig.24); the bodies flat, sexual organs prominent and the males circumcised. The men hold spears and maces with pear-shaped heads. They are bearded, but the upper lip is shaven. The male figurines wear only belts and helmets of sheet-metal. The women are naked and cup their breasts with crossed hands. They wear wire torques, caps of sheet-metal and curls of wire. Their hands and feet are enormous but with well-shaped fingers and toes.

There is little doubt that these three pairs of male and female figurines represent the chief deities.

Early Bronze Age in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine

The geographical distribution of the Amuq G culture is not well-known, but seems to have been fairly extensive. Characteristic pottery occurs from the Jebelreh region, on the coast south of Lattakia, to Arslantepe near Malatya (Map IV). Similar elements also occur at Hama on the Orontes, Tell Kazel and Simiriyan near Tartus. However, little is known at the present time about this central area.

Some Anatolian influence is notable at Qalat er-Rus on the coast, but not in the Amuq. Mesopotamian links are evident because of the timber trade, but contact with the peculiar North Mesopotamian wares of the Ninivite V group has not been attested.

The Amuq G culture persisted into the second phase of the Early Bronze Age (Amuq H). At that time a new and striking

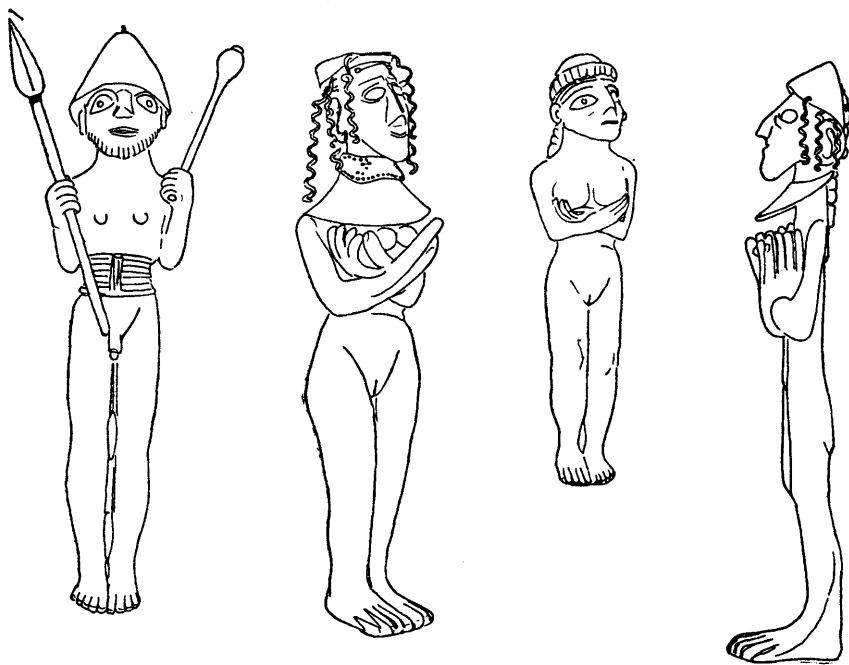


FIGURE 24 — Statues from the Amuq G period. (after *OIP*, LXI, 1960.)

Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages in the Near East

handmade pottery appeared. It apparently originated in the north and is known in Palestine as Khirbet Kerak ware. This pottery and the implications of its arrival are described in chapter VI. The new handmade ware became increasingly popular, and the traditional pottery was made in smaller quantities. Syrian bottles, however, were a little more common than in the previous phase.

BYBLOS.

The first urban period of Byblos (Byblos IV, ca. 3200-3000 B.C.) is roughly contemporary with the beginning of Amuq G and overlaps the Late Chalcolithic or Proto-Urban Palestine Period. During this period there was a steady growth of the city round the spring on the acropolis (Fig.25). The first temples were built around the spring, but relatively little is known of their character. They lie below the better preserved remains of successors to Byblos VI. Between the temple of Balaat Gebal, the "Lady of Byblos" or chief deity of the city, and a second temple in the east, lay a sacred lake contained by strongly built walls. Steps led down to the spring, southwest of which lay a third shrine surrounded by an oval enceinte. Houses of rectangular plan, first built of rubble and later in cut stone, were laid out around the religious centre of the city. The use of numerous wooden posts on stone bases along the inside of the walls is characteristic of this period. This feature is not strange in a country which was as well endowed with timber, pine and cedar, as Lebanon. The first houses with rooms grouped around court-yards are found in the next building level (V). Within the masonry walls occur foundation deposits consisting, in one case, of four small bowls containing white and black pebbles. Byblos V is securely dated by imported Egyptian stone vessels of Dynasty I-II type.

Towards the end of Byblos IV or the beginning of V, ca. 3000 B.C., the city was encircled by a defensive wall consisting of two stone faces filled with earth and debris from earlier settlements.

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The pottery of this E.B.1 Period is a buff red-slipped wheel-made ware, very finely burnished with criss-cross patterns or with combing. Shapes are similar to those of E.B. 1-2 in Palestine. Bone cylinders with Jemdet Nasr patterns and small loops for suspension are as much a feature of Byblos IV as they are of Amuq G.

PALESTINE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EARLY BRONZE AGE (Map IV).

At the time the powerful rulers of Upper Egypt were extending their sway over the Delta, the process of urbanisation was already a century old in Syria and Lebanon. When it reached Palestine, cities began to surround themselves with strong walls. Numerous

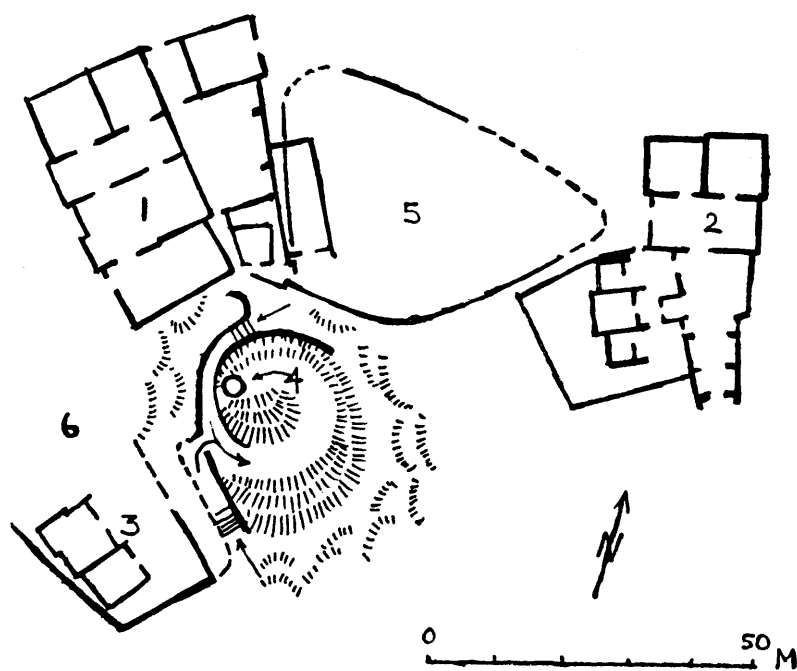


FIGURE 25 — The temple quarter on the acropolis of Byblos: 1) Temple of Baalat Gebal; 2) Temple of the obelisks; 3) third temple; 4) the great spring; 5) sacred lake.

(after M. DUNAND, in *Mél. de l'Univ. St. Joseph*, 1961.)

Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages in the Near East

villages were deserted as people concentrated in the new towns, each of which was probably the capital of a small city-state. This form of political organisation was to dominate the country until the establishment of the Israelite monarchy in the Iron Age. The process of urbanisation tended to level out the differences between the various cultures of the preceding period. There were still marked differences between north and south, mostly confined to pottery, which was then thrown on a potter's wheel.

The exotic grey ware disappeared and the red burnished pottery developed into the red-slipped and burnished ware characteristic of Early Bronze Age Palestine. At the same time a new painted element appeared in the north. This was the so-called band-slip ware in spouted local shapes, which was probably related to the reserve-slip ware of North Syria. The distribution of this pottery in Palestine was confined to the valley of Esdraelon and to the Jordan Valley down to the Wadi Zerqa. It occurred at Tell Farah and also in the northern Trans-Jordanian uplands, but not on the coast at Byblos, which was off the regular trade-route to North Palestine. The characteristic shapes were jars with pushed-up ledge-handles, hole-mouth jars, some spouted, with a line of incised dashes, bowls with inverted rims and small red-washed cups with string-cut bases.

On Lake Tiberias, the site of Khirbet Kerak, ancient Beth-Yerah the "House of the Moon-god", was surrounded with a mud-brick wall eight metres thick. Other walled cities at this period were Beisan XV-XIV, Megiddo XVIII, Tell Farah and probably Jericho. Houses of this period were rectangular at Beisan XV and round at Tell Shuna III and Jericho (VII). At Tell Shuna, the roof of light materials was supported by a central post which stood on a stone base.

In the south, the painted E.B.1a pottery probably lasted through this period. There is a striking absence of E.B. 1-2 occupation in the coastal plain, apart from Gezer and Tell Batashi, but

Early Bronze Age in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine

this area has been little explored as yet. Burial in collective tombs was still practised throughout the country.

No upheavals marked the transition from E.B.1 to 2. At many sites new fortifications were built, such as at Beth-Yerah III, Beisan XIII, Megiddo XVII, Jericho and Tell Hamid on the Yarmuk. Little is known of the occupation of the southern highlands and the coastal plain. In the north, however, this was evidently a period of great prosperity.

At Tell Shuna IV, for example, band-slip ware continued as the main decorated pottery, but red burnished ware with pattern combing and burnishing tended to supplant it elsewhere. Inverted rim bowls and stump-based Syrian juglets were the standard fine-ware shapes and hole-mouth jars with ledge handles served for cooking and storage. At Kinnereth, on the Sea of Galilee, a rich grave contained a Syrian jug decorated with a red pattern like those of Amuq G-H and Abydos (Fig.27). With it was found a gold roundel ornamented with bosses. The gold for this ornament probably came from Egypt since it is not native to Palestine. Unfortunately, virtually nothing is known of the metalwork in this period.

The transition of the second to the third phase of the Early Bronze Age in Palestine coincides, roughly, with the beginning of the Third Dynasty in Egypt (2686 B.C., with Byblos VI ca. 2700) and the E.B.3 period lasts until the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, ca. 2345 B.C.

This period saw the culmination of the Early Bronze Age culture throughout the Near East. Its end was marked by widespread migrations of new peoples not only in Syria and Palestine, but also in Mesopotamia and Anatolia with repercussions as far as Greece and Egypt (see chapter VIII).

THE CULMINATION OF EARLY BRONZE AGE CULTURE. BYBLOS VI
AND PALESTINIAN E.B.3.

It is at this period that intrusive elements from North Syria began to settle in northeastern Palestine, bringing with them the beautiful pottery known as Khirbet Kerak ware. Although it was known on the North Syrian coast, it never reached Byblos, which at this period (ca. 2700-2300 B.C.) had reached the height of its power. Byblos VI, as it is called, was a strongly fortified city. Enriched by an almost unrivalled and lucrative timber trade with Egypt, Byblos was just entering its richest period when the settlement was rebuilt at the beginning of the Third Dynasty in Egypt.

The old temple of the "Lady of Byblos" and the two secondary temples were rebuilt and enlarged; the water supply was remodelled (Fig.25) and houses of the rich merchants contained as many as eight rooms grouped around an elongated court-yard (Fig.26). The recesses and projections in the long walls were characteristic of the period, as were the central rows of the wooden columns and the fine masonry which now graced the rooms. One of these houses measured 30 by 28.5 metres, with thirty-five wooden pillars supporting the roof. The central hall had a roof higher than that of the neighbouring rooms and windows were probably set below the eaves. The temples of the period showed the same principles of arrangement and construction.

With the phenomenal increase of monumental buildings during the Pyramid Age, the demand for Lebanese timber, cedar and pine must have been enormous. The glory of Byblos reflected on the other coastal cities, for the Egyptians imported other things as well. Large loop-handled jars, frequently ornamented with combed decoration, and tall one-handled jugs of the E.B.3 types of Palestine and Lebanon have been found in the Old Kingdom cemeteries at Giza and Saqqarah. These undoubtedly once contained olive oil from the Levant coast. Syrian jugs and Syrian

Early Bronze Age in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine

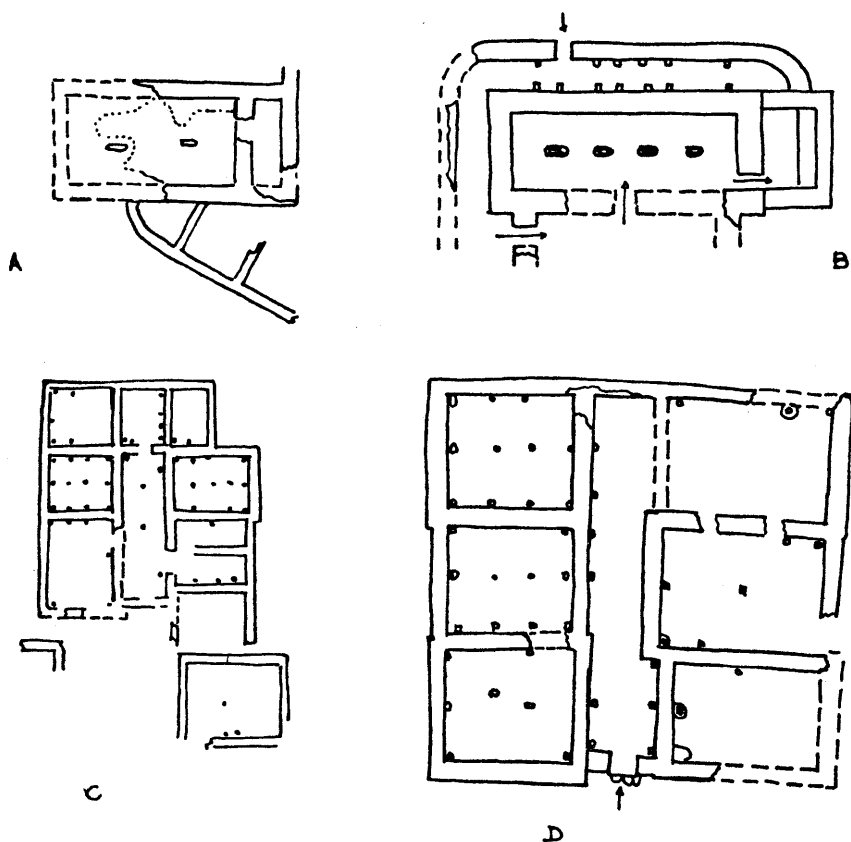


FIGURE 26 — Early Bronze Age Buildings: A. earlier apsidal and later rectangular house from Byblos III; B. E.B. III temple at Ai (Et Tell); C. and D. Large houses of Byblos VI.
(after M. DUNAND, in *RB*, 1950.)

bears (Fig. 27) are shown on a fragmentary relief from the funerary temple of Sahure, who was the second king of the Fifth Dynasty, ca. 2500 B.C. Sahure sent an expedition to the Levant, possibly Byblos, which is recorded in the same temple. The ships returned with bearded Asiatics, and Montet has argued that the expedition brought back an Asiatic bride for the Egyptian king. A similar scene

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of seagoing ships occurs in the causeway of the funerary temple of Unas, the last king of the Fifth Dynasty.

The Egyptian kings who sent expeditions to Byblos also paid their respects to the "Lady of Byblos", and fragments of stone vessels have been found in her temples inscribed with the names of Egyptian kings from Khasekhemwy, the last king of the Second Dynasty to Pepi II, the last king of the Sixth, most of them in the temple of Balaat Gebal. During these four hundred years the city underwent four re-buildings, but the prosperity continued. Trade must have been continuous, even if at present no king of the Third Dynasty is represented by finds at Byblos. Nor does the list include the Egyptian king Snefru, but on the Egyptian king list, known as the Palermo Stone, it is recorded that he built great ships of cedar and coniferous wood and brought forty shiploads of cedar, some of which was used for the doors of a palace. His successors, Cheops, Chefren and Mycerinus, the builders of the three great pyramids of Giza, are known from records at Byblos. An axe-blade found at the mouth of the Dog River (Nahr el Kelb) bears a Golden Horus name, shared by Cheops and Sahure. Sahure's brother, Kakai, is known from a stone bowl, and so are the other powerful kings of the Fifth Dynasty. Among these are Nyuserre, Isesi and Unas and his successors, and the first two kings of Dynasty VI, Teti I and Pepi I. During the reign of Pepi I (2331-2292 B.C.) an official called Uni recorded on the walls of his tomb an account of Egyptian punitive raids on the nomads of South Palestine, and of an expedition which may have reached Mt. Carmel. This was perhaps the first warning of the unsettled conditions and disquiet which soon became general.

Some time afterwards, Byblos VI was burnt. After the catastrophe new elements appeared with caliciform pottery (Fig. 33) and a different type of dwelling. Each consisted of a well-built structure up to twelve to fifteen metres long and about four metres wide, with a recess in one of the walls. Each house seems to have

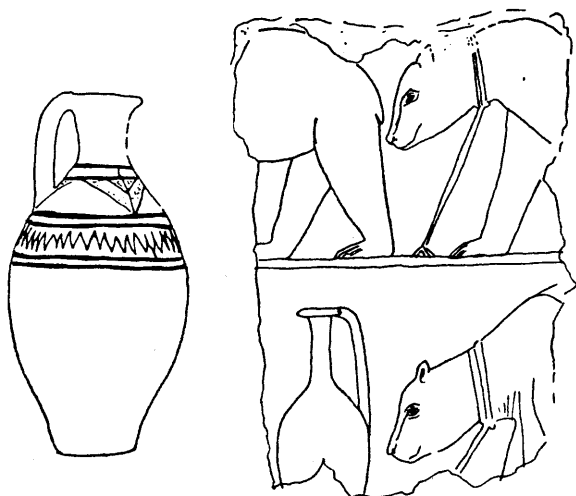


FIGURE 27 — Painted Syrian jug from a First Dynasty tomb at Abusir el Meleq in Egypt and Syrian bears and jugs from a relief in the funerary temple of Sahure.

(after H. BONNET, *Ein Frühgeschichtliches Graberfeld bei Abusir*, 1928; and WRESZINSKI, *Atlas*, vol. III.)

contained only a single room of enormous size. In one of these buildings, an Egyptian vase with the name of Pepi II (ca. 2278-2181 B.C.) has been found, suggesting a resumption of trade at this time. After the death of Pepi II the Old Kingdom broke down and it is unlikely that any of the ephemeral rulers of the First Intermediate Period could have traded with Byblos. We know of Asiatic inroads in the Delta, and the conflagration that destroyed Byblos was probably connected with these events.

However, Byblos rose again and Egyptian inscriptions tell us that trade was re-established by Kheti III (died 2040 B.C.), the last king of the Tenth, or Heracleopolitan Dynasty, who drove out the Asiatics from the Delta. An obelisk, found in the second temple at Byblos, records in Egyptian hieroglyphs that Kukun, the son of a Lukka man (a West Anatolian!), set up this monument

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for Abishemu, an Amorite Prince of Byblos, beloved of the Egyptian god Herishef (Arsaphes). The date of this monument is about the 21st century B.C., and it is the first record of the cosmopolitan nature of Byblos society.

Apart from Byblos, inscribed Egyptian stone vessels have been found only at Cythera in the Aegean and at Dorak in Northwest Anatolia. Egyptian calcite bowls of a type in use during the Second and Third Dynasties have been discovered, together with Anatolian-looking battle-axes, near a temple at Ai (Et-Tell) in the Palestinian uplands north of Jerusalem. These are the only foreign objects found in Early Bronze Age Palestine, but a tomb at Taanach in the Esdraelon Valley is said to imitate Egyptian Third Dynasty masonry. It dates from the end of E.B.2 or the beginning of E.B.3.

The Ai temple showed hammer-dressed masonry (the rule at Byblos, but rare in Palestine) and a plan already familiar from the shrines at Engedi, Megiddo and Beth-Yerah IV. In the centre of a long wall, a doorway led into a long rectangular room, with a small chamber at one side (Fig. 26b). Four wooden pillars on stone bases supported the roof. Store-rooms extended along the back of the building which had a courtyard in the front.

The native E.B.3 pottery of Palestine continued the earlier tradition of wheel-made red-slipped and burnished ware. The introduction of Khirbet Kerak ware in the north exercised little or no influence over the local wheel-made pottery, except that a number of local shapes were now made in the superior northern technique.

CHAPTER VI

THE KHIRBET KERAK WARE OF SYRIA AND NORTH PALESTINE

The handmade, brilliantly burnished pottery known as Khirbet Kerak ware (after Beth-Yerah, Kh. Kerak IV) was by far the most beautiful ever made in Palestine. It appeared there in the E.B.A.3 Period and is evidently of foreign origin. The quantity in which it appears rules out the possibility that it was imported. It is, therefore, almost certainly the product of new elements in the population, who brought the technique with them, and perhaps closely guarded its secret; for there are no imitations of this ware.

The southern limit of this pottery is roughly the same as that of the Esdraelon ware; it did not penetrate into the coastal plain south of Megiddo, the central hill country, or the Jordan Valley south of the Plain of Beisan. Occasional imports in the coastal plain or at Jericho do not affect its general distribution. On the coast it occurs at Tell Tabayiq, but not in Lebanon. The Beqaa is virtually unexplored, but this must have been the route by which these people entered Palestine from further north. Khirbet Kerak ware occurs at Hama on the Orontes and on the North Syrian coastal sites of Ras Shamra, Qalat er-Rus and Tell Sukas. Its greatest and main centre of distribution lies in the plain of Antioch, extending up the Afrin River; towards kilisrand scattered sherds have been found up to Malatya (see Map V).

The pottery is homogeneous from North Syria to North Palestine and one gets the impression of dealing with the same ethnic group throughout the area. Moreover, wherever Khirbet Kerak

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wares appear, we find their makers lived peacefully alongside the old native population. No trace of destruction accompanied their arrival and one cannot prove that they formed an upper class, although this is likely.

It has been suggested that Khirbet Kerak was no more than a new fashion in pottery, unassociated with other evidence of cultural changes. Such scepticism is no longer justified after the excavations in the Amuq and two of the largest Khirbet Kerak sites in Palestine, Beth-Yerah IV and Tell Shuna, ten miles further south. Here, as in the Amuq, there are a number of features in domestic architecture which have no precedents in the earlier layers. Though the houses were of rectangular plan as before, and had several rooms, benches now lined the walls, while hearths and ovens were carefully constructed on a base of pot-sherds or chips of stone and covered with plaster. Platforms and plastered circular basins were set in the centre of the room or in the courtyards. Horseshoe-shaped ovens (Fig.28) appeared with a platform in front, and pot-stands or andirons (Fig.30: 30) were often incised with human faces. The neatness of the construction compares well with the slovenliness of much of the native work and suggests that the newcomers were used to higher standards of personal comfort. Built-in furniture was a standard feature on the Anatolian Plateau. It first appeared there in the seventh millennium B.C.

At Khirbet Kerak itself, the site was surrounded with a wall four metres thick made of lava boulders, which stood on top of a slope of beaten earth. This form of defence was also seen in the later E.B.A. wall at Byblos and became a standard feature of Middle Bronze Age fortification throughout Syria and Palestine. At the same site was found one of the largest and most intriguing buildings yet seen in Early Bronze Age Palestine (Fig.28). It forms an approximate rectangle measuring forty by thirty metres, built of big basalt blocks, and is preserved in places to a height of nine courses, or about two metres. The walls are some ten metres thick and nine

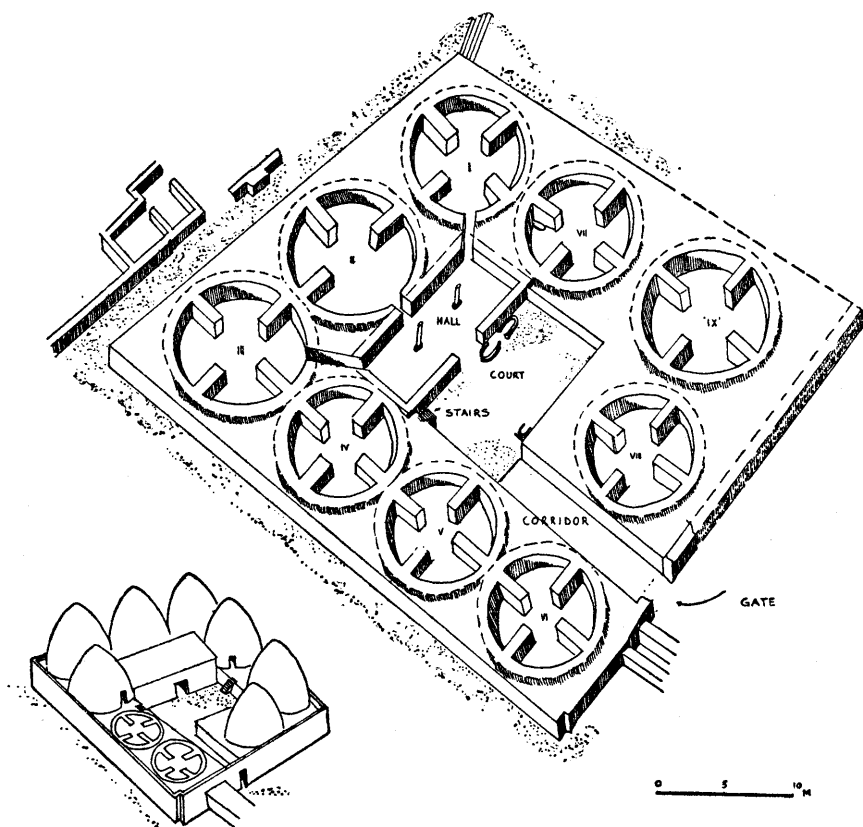


FIGURE 28 — The Public Building at Khirbet Kerak (E.B.3).
(adapted from plan in *IEJ*, II, 1952.)

stone circles with diameters varying from seven to nine metres are sunk into the top of the wall. Each of these circles has four stone partitions, two metres long.

A gate seven metres wide in the east side of the building leads through a wide passage fourteen metres long, into a paved courtyard, twenty-five metres long, which contained four ovens. From the court, stone stairs lead to the top of the structure and to the circular buildings.

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In the middle of the west wall of the court a wide doorway leads into a hall (25 x 5 m.) in which stand two stone bases for wooden columns, and three corridors lead into the circular structures behind. The entire complex was free-standing and surrounded by paved streets 2.5 metres wide, and at the north-west corner there was a flight of steps 3.5 metres wide.

This monumental building was probably a sanctuary; the hall and court resemble the Engedi, Megiddo and Ai sanctuaries. The nine circular structures were probably domed and may have served as dwellings for the temple personnel or as temple granaries. The reconstruction gives the building an appearance not unlike that of the beehive villages of North Syria today. In this building pottery of the period was found, both Khirbet Kerak and local wares, some figurines, pot-sherds with bulls' heads in relief, some animal bones and a carbonised olive kernel, the earliest on record. Beth-Yerah is one of the largest mounds in Palestine, nearly one kilometre in length, and this, combined with the size of the temple and the great walls, suggests considerable authority. It would not be surprising if the palace of a local ruler were found in later excavations. Early Bronze Age palaces have not yet come to light in Syria or Palestine.

Nothing is known of the physical appearance of these new people, and their burial habits do not appear to have been different from those of the local population. At present there is no knowledge of their metal-work which, judging by the metallic shapes and decoration of most of the pottery, may be assumed to have been advanced.

The Khirbet Kerak ware was apparently handmade, or if the wheel was used all traces of it were obliterated by the brilliantly polished slip with which it was covered. This slip, orange-red in colour, covered both the interior and exterior of the vessel. Nearly all the carinated shapes, cups, large bowls, jars, etc., were subjected to a special treatment. The pot, still hot from the kiln, was coated on the outside with warm fat or dipped in hot oil, producing a

The Khirbet Kerak Ware of Syria and North Palestine

black exterior below a red rim (and red interior) which is the hall-mark of this ware. Apart from this distinctive surface treatment, many vessels were decorated with ribbed or fluted ornaments. Lids were grey or buff-coloured, unslipped, but burnished and bear incised patterns filled with white chalk. The most typical shapes are shown in Fig.29-31.

Most shapes are virtually identical, whether they come from the Amuq or from Palestine. The favourite northern form of decoration was horizontal ribs below the rim, followed by chevrons and infrequently by ribbing covering the entire lower part of the vessel (Figs.29: 15, 30: 19, 21); this is not found in Palestine. Several southern motifs do not occur in the north, but high cylindrical stands occur throughout the area.

It may be categorically stated that the Khirbet Kerak culture came from North Syria, like so many others that reached northern Palestine. In North Syria it probably began in Amuq phase H, about 2800 B.C., but lasted through phase I with some modifications. In Palestine, it may have arrived a century later and its duration is unknown. Few sites have produced clear evidence for a post-Khirbet Kerak phase of Early Bronze Age culture, and its end is still obscure.

This is, however, only part of the picture that archaeology has made clear, for although North Syria and in particular the Amuq Plain, was the staging point for a diffusion southwards, the Khirbet Kerak culture did not originate in those parts. Its distribution up the Afrin River shows that it entered the plain through this valley. All efforts to trace it further north in the triangle between the Taurus Mountains, the Euphrates and the Aleppo area have failed. Nor is there a trace of this culture in Cilicia, but scattered sherds in the Maraş area and the plain of Elbistan may indicate a migration route between Malatya and the Amuq plain.

This culture was not associated with violence or destruction, so it is possible that these people may have passed through certain

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areas without settling, thus leaving few traces of their passage. However, recent work in Eastern Anatolia has established an indisputable link between the Khirbet Kerak culture and this vast region in the Early Bronze Age, which we will now consider.

CHAPTER VII

THE KHIRBET KERAK CULTURE AND ITS EAST ANATOLIAN LINKS¹

Eastern Anatolia, as a geographical and archaeological province, extends from the watershed between the Halys (Kizil Irmak) and the Euphrates to beyond the eastern frontier of Turkey. The Taurus range forms its southern, the Pontic ranges its northern boundary. The present eastern frontier does not correspond to geographical or cultural realities and the East Anatolian culture province extends over the adjacent territories as far as the Rion basin (ancient Colchis), Tiflis, Lake Sevan and Tabriz and Hamadan. The area east of Lake Urmia, the Little Caucasus, and the steppes north and east of it, stretching to the Caspian Sea, were the homes of different cultures.

The major part of the vast area is occupied by mountain ranges and does not lend itself to settled conditions based on intensive agriculture. Cattle breeding was most important.

No traces of Neolithic occupation have yet been reported, and Chalcolithic remains have only been found in the regions of Malatya Elazig, Palu, Van and Urmia, where mountain passes led to the lowlands of North Syria and Mesopotamia.

However, it is not until the Early Bronze Age that we can form a picture of the cultures that flourished in this area as a whole, and one is struck by the apparent homogeneity of the culture complex throughout this vast extent of territory. Regional differences

¹ Map V.

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exist, of course, but at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age they would appear to be much less marked than in the rest of Anatolia, Syria or Palestine. This could mean that we are dealing with a single ethnic group such as we know existed from later sources throughout this area. It is possible that the East Anatolian Early Bronze Age was produced by the Hurrians, a powerful ethnic group speaking a non-Indo-European language first attested in the later third millennium B.C.

This group survived throughout the second millennium and the Iron Age until the end of the Assyrian Empire, about 612 B.C., when the Medes and others first introduced Indo-European speech throughout the vast domains of the old Urartian kingdom and its neighbours.

The entire area is almost inaccessible and thus lends itself to conservatism, resistance to change and development. It was not until the Late Bronze and Iron Ages that it entered the political forum of the Near East. This was first under the name of Mitanni, led by Indo-European war lords, and later as the native Hurrian states of Urartu and Mannai. However, this apparent political immaturity in no way diminished the importance of this region in the prehistory of the Near East.

During the third millennium B.C., there developed in these parts an Early Bronze Age (frequently also called Late Chalcolithic or Aeneolithic) the origins of which are still uncertain. The use of copper was known, but the chief characteristic of the culture was its hand-made pottery which was distinct and striking. It was a slipped and burnished ware, usually with a black, brown or grey exterior and a red or buff interior. It shares this feature of a light interior with certain Central Anatolian Early Bronze wares and with the Khirbet Kerak ware, so that a genetic link is quite possible. The comparatively early date (ca. 2800 B.C.) when this pottery appears fully developed in the Amuq Plain, rules out the possibility of any direct link with the Central Anatolian wares of this kind,

The Khirbet Kerak Culture and its East Anatolian Links

which are dated somewhat later. The resemblances noted by some scholars are not always accurate and the only characteristic shape which occurs in Central Anatolia is the cylindrical potstand. Neither the Khirbet Kerak ware nor the Central Anatolian Early Bronze ware with which it has been compared, has any association with the migration of the Hittites.

This East Anatolian pottery has sharper and more metallic profiles than the Khirbet Kerak pottery, which is more rounded. The highland ware is profusely decorated and much of the bolder relief decoration is confined to large shapes. Jars and pithoi are badly represented among the Khirbet Kerak ware, both in the Amuq and in Palestine (see Fig. 29-31).

This pottery has many different types of decoration, the popularity of which varies according to place and time. The richer and more sophisticated pottery was generally the earlier, the undecorated the later. This is suggested by the stratified deposits at Karaz near Erzerum, Trialeti west of Tiflis, Geoy Tepe near Rizzayeh, and Yanik Tepe near Tabriz.

Regional variations are marked, especially towards the extreme limits of the distribution of this pottery. The E.B.1 pottery from Yanik Tepe is ornamented with incised and excised patterns which seem to derive from wood-carving, and this origin is suggested by a number of other shapes. Another characteristic is the frequent appearance of incised pictures showing goats and birds, common motifs in Persian painted pottery of Chalcolithic and Bronze Age date. In the easternmost part of this group such influences may be expected. The later E.B.2 pottery is similar, but bears no decoration whatsoever. Across the lake of Urmia (Rizzayeh) a different variant has been found at Geoy Tepe. Most of this ware was undecorated and only one example of relief decoration was found (Fig. 31: 17, 23) on a large jar of characteristic type. The spiraliform pattern has good parallels further north and west, but the deer is unique and again points to Iranian influence. Further south, the one

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decorated sherd (Fig.31:21) from Hasanlu has western and northern parallels. It is strange that East Anatolian pottery has not been found on the site during the recent American excavations. The later Geoy Tepe E.B. 2 and 3 pottery (after 2450 B.C.) is ornamented by simple grooves and dimples, evenly arranged. There are crude Nahcevan lugs, great blobs hollowed out on either side which often do not make a continuous hole, and seem to be relatively late.

A lack of rich ornamentation also distinguishes the pottery found near the Lakes of Van and Sevan and the Muş plain. Grooves and dimples occur as at Geoy Tepe, but relief ornament seems scarce (Fig.31: 9). Unfortunately the material consists entirely of surface finds and much of it may really be later in date. The pottery from Colchis and the Kars area (Fig.29:7) again has some relief ornament, sometimes combined with dimples. Elaborate ornamentation occurs in the Trialeti region near Tiflis, the middle Araxes Valley around Erivan and the plain of Erzerum. It is also found in the western groups of this culture, on either side of the middle course of the Euphrates.

There we find grooves and dimples, especially rich at Karaz; fine and bold relief patterns, the latter frequently on pithoi, the former on smaller jars. Elaborate groove and dimple patterns ornament lids of circular, square and oblong shapes with a single handle like a Nahcevan lug. These lids are well-made, slipped, burnished and flat, unlike those of Khirbet Kerak which are conical, plain and white-filled incised, but the patterns used in decoration are not dissimilar. Decoration is generally confined to the central or shoulder-zone of the pots, but in the Divriği-Malatya and Elazig regions and sometimes at Karaz, relief ornament is found on the rims, as in the Khirbet Kerak wares. Patterns are numerous, varied and sophisticated, especially in the relief class of decoration and frequently give the impression of having been copied from metal vessels ornamented with repoussé work or from carved wooden vessels.

It is clear that metal vessels were used in this culture. Examples

The Khirbet Kerak Culture and its East Anatolian Links

of these have been found in the Maikop barrow, north of the Caucasus (Fig.29:11). They were probably imported from further south. The absence of incised wares in the East Anatolian province is noteworthy. With the exception of the E.B.1 pottery of Yanik Tepe, incised designs are found only on lids and coarse potstands or andirons (Fig.30:28, 29, 32). The latter are another link with the Khirbet Kerak ware, but their distribution is much wider in Anatolia and includes parts of Central Anatolia (Alişar region). On the Konya Plain, they are ornamented with human faces. At Karaz and Pulur a different type of andiron was in use and elaborate hearths were built which have, as yet, no counterparts elsewhere. This local peculiarity is not surprising, for the altitude is over 6000 ft. in the Erzerum plain. It is sometimes referred to as "Turkey's Siberia". A more efficient way of keeping warm than braziers and andiron-hearthths was clearly desirable during the eight or nine cold months of the year.

The andiron hearths occurred in Palestine, the Amuq Plain and the Araxes Valley, areas less exposed to great cold than the Eastern Plateau. Further west and north on the plateau, the andiron hearths were purely subsidiary to the large hearths which occurred in every house.

Fig.29-31 show that in both form and decoration the resemblances between East Anatolian and Khirbet Kerak ware are so close as to be almost indistinguishable. A glance at these three figures shows conclusively that, although not identical, the Khirbet Kerak ware is evidently of East Anatolian derivation. Only cylindrical potstands have not been found in Eastern Anatolia, but otherwise nearly all the shapes and forms of decoration can be matched. The same applies to the cooking pots with rim lugs that are a feature of Khirbet Kerak ware in the Amuq, but not in Palestine. These occur (without Khirbet Kerak ware) from the Maraş area as far east as Karaz.

Little is known of other features of this East Anatolian culture.

Chalcolitic and Early Bronze Ages in the Near East

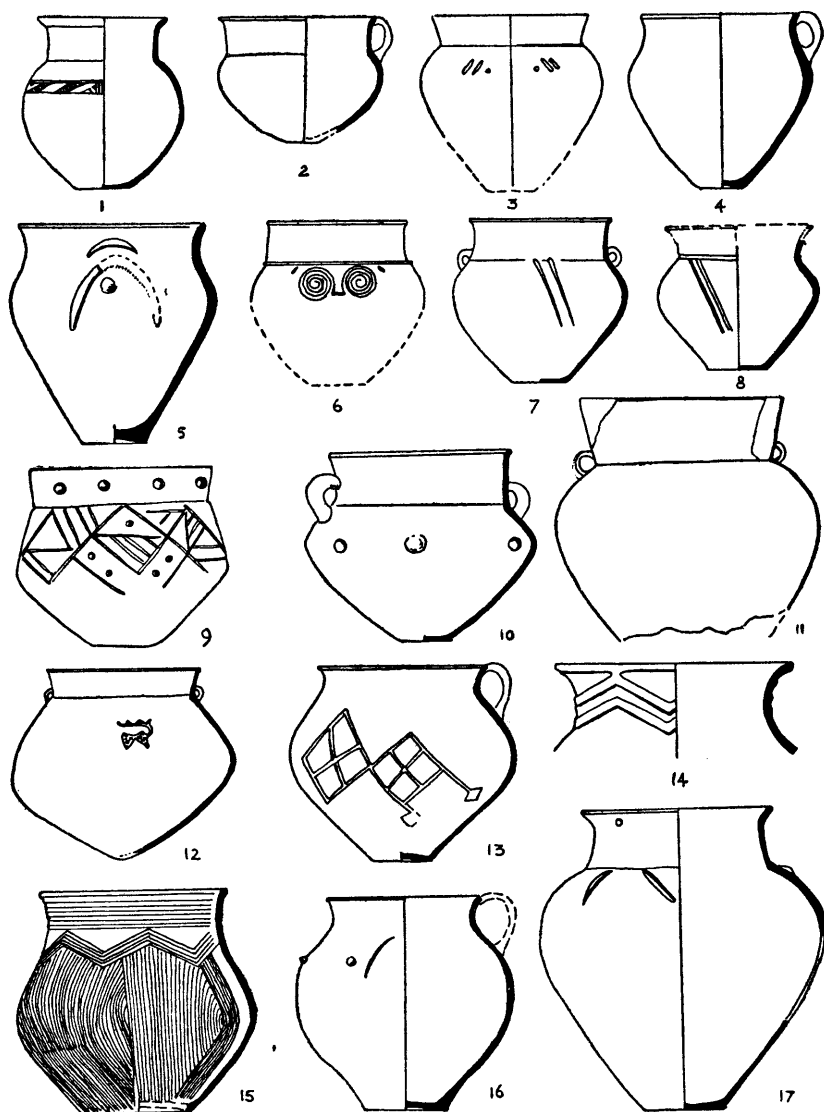


FIGURE 29 — Khirbet Kerak ware from North Syria and Palestine (4,5,8,13-16) and related shapes from East Anatolia, Transcaucasia and Azerbaijan.

The Khirbet Kerak Culture and its East Anatolian Links

Provenance

- 1, 2. Yaniktepe-Tazekent (Tabriz)
3. Eilar, near Lake Sevan (Soviet Armenia)
4. Affuleh (Palestine)
5. Tabbara el Akrad (Amuq)
6. Kiketi, near Tiflis (Georgia)
7. Amiranis Gora (Georgia)
8. Beisan (Palestine)
9. Karaz, near Erzerum (East Anatolia)
10. Osni in Trialeti (Georgia)
11. Maikop tomb, north of Caucasus (silver)
12. Geoy Tepe, Rizayyeh (Iran)
13. Affuleh (Palestine)
14. Tabara el Akrad (Amuq)
15. Tell Tainat (Amuq)
16. Affuleh (Palestine)
17. Nidhznem Gomi (Colchis).

For the location of these places, see Map V.

(figs. 29-31 after: C.M. FITZGERALD, in *Museum Journal*, 1935; *PEFQ*, 1936; S. HOOD, in *AS*, I; W. LAMB, in *AS*, IV; C.A. BURNEY, in *AS*, VIII and *Iraq*, XXIII; R. J. BRAIDWOOD, in *OIP*, LXI; H.Z. KOŞAY, in *Belleten*, 1959; *Sov. Arch.*, 1957, No. 4; B.A. KUFTIN, in *Arch. Exc. in Trialeti*, 1941; in *Contrib. to mat. culture of Colchis* (Russian); in *Arch. investigations in the Tsalka region*, 1948 (Russian); T. BURTON BROWN, *Exc. in Azerbaijan*, 1948; A. STEIN, *Ancient Routes in Western Iran* and in "Atlas of Oriental Silver", St. Petersburg, 1909.

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Simple metal objects were made, such as daggers and axes, but Khirbet Kerak sites have produced virtually no metal. Knowledge of burial habits is scanty because so few sites have been excavated. Intramural burials with contracted skeletons in earth graves were found at Pulus near Erzerum. Single burials in cists occurred in Trialeti; collective burial (as in Palestine) was practised in the Van region (Ernis), but no burials were found at Yanik Tepe. A little more is known about East Anatolian houses and dwellings: cyclopean fortresses occur at Beshtasheni (Akhillar) in Trialeti and at Eilar north of Erivan. In the Araxes Valley, round houses on stone foundations with central hearths were found at Eilar and Shengavit. The richest evidence comes from Yanik Tepe (Fig. 32); here was a fortified city containing round houses, each with a small outer court, grouped round a huge granary. This architectural arrangement is faintly reminiscent of the E.B.3 building at Khirbet Kerak (Fig.28), but is less monumental. The fittings of the Yanik Tepe houses are standardised to a remarkable degree. Each has a bin to the right of the entrance, with compartments for the preparation of food, a hearth and sometimes a bench along the opposite side of the house. These elaborate standard features have already been noted in the rectangular shaped houses of the Khirbet Kerak culture in the Amuq and some also occur in Palestine. Houses of rectangular plan are a feature at Karaz and offer a strong contrast to the round houses found further east. At Yanik Tepe, for example, the later Early Bronze Age houses also show a rectangular plan, but with the same fittings.

Although certain analogies may be observed in architecture and burial habits, the principal evidence for a link between the Khirbet Kerak culture and Eastern Anatolia rests on the pottery. Until further excavations are made, it is impossible to determine where exactly this culture originated.

The language and ethnic affiliation of the Khirbet Kerak people is not definitely known. If they originated in the eastern

The Khirbet Kerak Culture and its East Anatolian Links

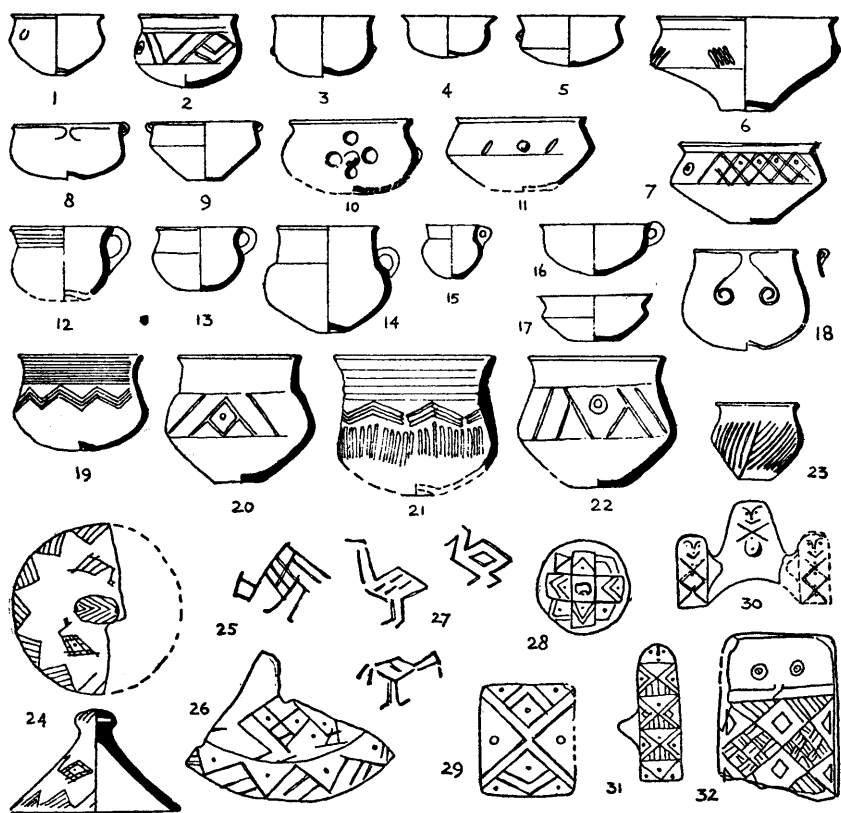


FIGURE 30 — Cups, bowls, lids, etc. of Khirbet Kerak ware and related East Anatolian types. Nos 1, 3, 8, 10, 12, 16, 18, 19, 21, 24-26, 30, 31: Kh. Kerak ware from the Amuq plain.

4, 6, 23: Kh. Kerak ware from Beisan. 5, 14: from Beshtasheni. 13: Osni in Trialeti (Georgia). 15, 17: from Ernis (Van). 11: from Geoy Tepe (Urmia). 27, 32: from Yanik Tepe (Tabriz).

2, 7, 9, 20, 22, 28, 29 from Karaz (Erzerum).

Anatolian highlands at the beginning of the third millennium, both a Semitic or an Indo-European affiliation are ruled out. It is quite possible that these people already spoke a language related to, or a form of, Hurrian.



FIGURE 31 — Relief decoration on Khirbet Kerak and related East Anatolian wares.

- Nos 1, 5 : from Osni
 2 : from Takavoranast
 3, 4 : from Beshtasheni in Trialeti
 6, 16 : from Kultapa
 7, 8, 13-15, 18-20, 22, 24 : from Karaz near Erzerum
 9 : from Van
 10 : from Yayci (Mt. Ararat)
 11 : from Sivrikaya (Malatya)
 12 : from Hinsor (Elazig)
 17, 23 : from Geoy Tepe (Urmia)
 21 : from Hasanlu (Urmia)
 25-29 : Kh. Kerak ware from Amuq H
 30-31 : Kh. Kerak ware from Beisan
 32 : Kh. Kerak ware from Affuleh

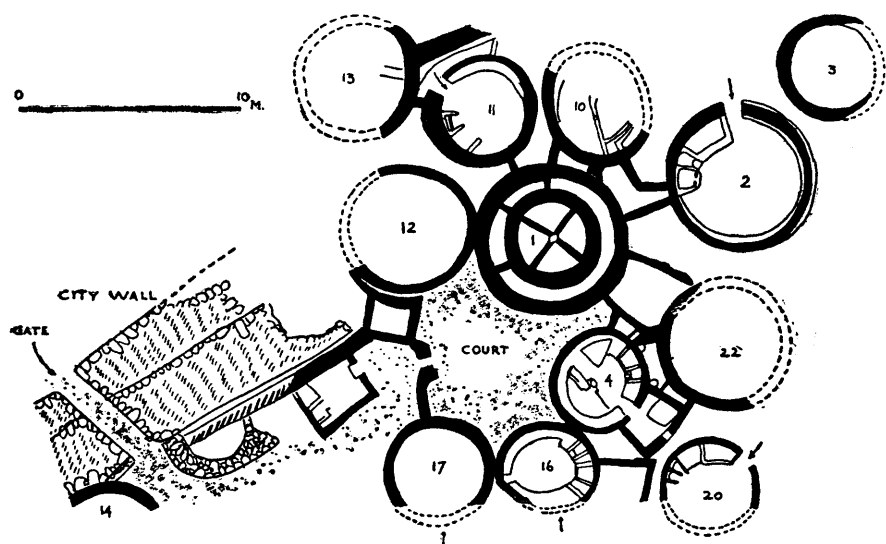


FIGURE 32 — Plan of the E.B.I settlement at Yanik Tepe, near Tebriz.
(after C.A. BURNEY, in *Iraq*, XXIII, 1961.)



FIGURE 33 — Caliciform pottery from North Syria (Amuq J).
(after *OIP*, LXI, 1960.)

CHAPTER VIII

THE END OF THE EARLY BRONZE AGE IN PALESTINE AND SYRIA. A SECOND WAVE OF NOMAD SEMITIC INVADERS ¹

Little is known of the later centuries of the third millennium B.C. in Palestine. There are few sites in the north where a post-Khirbet Kerak occupation of local Palestinian type has been found. The two most important sites of this culture, Khirbet Kerak and Tell Shuna, were destroyed and deserted respectively and not reoccupied. In the south, away from the influence of the Khirbet Kerak culture area, the old local culture may have continued for a time without much change. However, the evidence is somewhat equivocal, and of an E.B. 4 or E.B. 3a period little is known, except perhaps in the remote Jordanian uplands to the east of the Dead Sea. The length of this period is also unknown, but recent re-dating of the subsequent culture might allow much less of a time gap. At Jericho, on the other hand, recent evidence clearly suggests that there is no gap and the flourishing Early Bronze Age town went up in flames as the result of an invasion. This was not an isolated event and the Early Bronze Age culture of Palestine seems, at numerous sites, to have ended in violence, massacre and destruction. The date of these events was previously put around 2100 B.C., but if we can accept the radiocarbon dates from Hama, this date should be raised by perhaps two hundred years.

The events that took place in Palestine seem to have been a

¹ Map VI.

Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages in the Near East

repercussion from the widespread movements of new peoples further east and north; these events left their mark, even on the peaceful civilisation of the Nile Valley.

Soon after 2400 B.C., the city-states of Sumer, centres of one of the highest cultures the Near East has ever seen, were conquered by Sargon of Akkad, the first Semitic overlord to rule southern Mesopotamia. Sargon and his people, the Akkadians, had settled on the northern edge of the Sumerian states not far from Baghdad and it is thought that these Semitic tribesmen came from the marginal desert west and south of Sumer.

Akkadian aggression did not stop with the conquest of Sumer, and Sargon and his successors extended their rule over Elam and Northern Mesopotamia. His grandson, Naram Sin, left a stele at Pir Huseyin near Diyarbakır and built palaces at Assur and Brak. Later epics describe a campaign of Sargon in Anatolia, but its authenticity is not confirmed by contemporary documents. It is, however, clear that these Akkadian rulers gained a great reputation as conquerors and as a result of their conquests the old Sumerian civilisation was gradually pushed northwards over the territories, later to form the centre of the Assyrian Empire. Sargonid pottery has been found as far as the Euphrates near Carchemish, and Sargonid metal-work influenced even eastern and central Anatolia. Those northern campaigns were directed against Hurrian kings, who ruled in the Khabur area. Proof of this has been found from a number of objects in these parts. A series of great circular fortified towns extended from the Balikh to the Tigris and they appear to have formed a fortified boundary. It is not yet clear whether they were built by the Akkadians against the Hurrians or vice versa. The excavations at Tell Huwera, just south of the Turkish frontier in Syria, tend to favour the second alternative, and Naram Sin's palace at Brak may well have been a counterfort. These warlike exploits in the north must certainly have had their repercussions in North Syria west of the Euphrates.

The End of the Early Bronze Age

During the later phases of the Khirbet Kerak occupation of the Amuq (phase I) a new plain ware developed which was the beginning of the wheel-made "mass-produced" pottery. This was called "Caliciform" from the predominance of chalices, goblets and drinking cups (Fig.33). The production centre of this pottery is thought to have been the area between the Amuq plain and the Euphrates. There are numerous strange shapes in the north, such as pedestalled bowls, pots on three feet, etc. No marked signs of violence have been found, but the character of the culture changed with the disappearance of the Khirbet Kerak ware, which was also a foreign element. This caliciform ware, in a developed form, was decorated with bands of paint and zigzags scraped through the paint. It spread down the valley of the Orontes and into Northern Palestine. A related ware occurred at Byblos after a destruction of the city, some time before the reign of Pepi II, who ruled Egypt for ninety-four years (2278-2181). These newcomers then installed themselves both on the coast and in the hinterland and a few centuries later, texts refer to them as Canaanites (coast) and Amorites (hinterland). They were both west-Semitic peoples who dominated the cultural development of Syria and Palestine throughout the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. They controlled Phoenicia through the entire Iron Age until the conquest of Alexander the Great in 333 B.C.

In Palestine, events were more complicated, for it would appear that apart from northern elements who introduced the Orontes version of Caliciform ware (as at Megiddo and in the Esdraelon Valley), several others entered the country from the east. The so-called E.B.-M.B. pottery had a widespread distribution in the Jordan Valley, and at Jericho there are at least two different elements represented in the tombs of the necropolis, those buried with daggers and those buried with pots. At Tell Ajjul near Gaza at the southern end of the coastal plain, there is evidence of more diverse elements, each with their

Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages in the Near East

own customary burial offerings. In Palestine, at least, one has the impression of an invasion by heterogeneous nomadic and warlike people from the surrounding deserts. It is known from Egyptian sources that some of these Asiatics penetrated the Delta, contributing to the fall of the Old Kingdom and the Early Bronze Age civilisation of Egypt.

All these elements shared a number of features, namely a high standard of metallurgy. This is evident in their warlike armament, and unaesthetic standardised wheel-made pottery of northern origin. Individual tombs are in sharp contrast to the previous collective burials. Wherever they settled on the devastated sites an inferior form of living and architecture developed. There can be little doubt that these were, at least in Palestine, only recently settled nomads, whatever their counterparts in the North may have been.

It seems likely that it was these people who gradually developed the Middle Bronze Age cultures of the early second millennium B.C.

History is not aware of the factors which forced these nomads to migrate. It is not known for certain what drives people out of the steppe-like edge of the deserts, but it might be suggested that a few years of drought, serious enough in agricultural communities, would be disastrous to pastoralists. Lack of water would reduce their flocks, and famine is usually the most potent agent behind mass migrations. In a prehistoric period such events cannot be recorded, but there is one scrap of evidence. In the reign of Unas, the last king of the Fifth Dynasty of Egypt (ca. 2375-2345 B.C.), there are a series of reliefs from the causeway of the king's funerary temple, depicting acute famine in Egypt, one of the richest and most fertile agricultural lands in the Near East. There is, of course, no way of telling whether this famine was confined to Egypt or even to a part of it, but it must have been regarded as an event serious enough to be recorded. It is possible that it was part of a more widespread disaster which might well lead to the events described above.

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There is also evidence that similar migrations took place from a totally different quarter, the south Russian steppe, at approximately the same time. Rather than regard this as a coincidence, the author would tend to consider this period as one of general migrations, comparable to the centuries at the end of the Bronze Age or the great migration period at the end of the Roman Empire.

PART II
ANATOLIA

CHAPTER IX

LATE CHALCOLITHIC ANATOLIAN CULTURES AND THEIR SPREAD TO THE AEGEAN¹ (ca. 5000-3200 B.C.)

It is the object of this book to present a balanced picture of cultural development in two main areas of the Near East, Anatolia and Syria-Palestine. It is only logical to begin our discussion of Anatolian culture at a date roughly parallel to the earliest developments described in the first part of the book, about the beginning of the fifth millennium B.C. This means that we must begin with a series of cultures which in Anatolia were known as the Late Chalcolithic, beginning ca. 5000 B.C., and roughly contemporary with the Halaf culture of North Syria and Mesopotamia. At this stage the spectacular civilisations of Southern Anatolia, the Çatal Hüyük and Hacilar cultures were already a thing of the past. The Can Hasan culture had gone, and everywhere were dismal traces of destruction, violence and semi-barbarism. The old civilisations had disappeared, the seed for the next was being sown, and there existed the beginnings of a new set of cultures which ultimately developed into the Anatolian Early Bronze Age. This was a period of great achievement parallel to, but quite different from, that in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine.

The Late Chalcolithic Period of Anatolia is unfortunately a period where our knowledge is restricted and the areas in which

¹ Map VII.

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it is represented comprise only a small portion of Turkey. At this moment (May, 1963) the distribution of Late Chalcolithic cultures in Anatolia is geographically restricted south of a diagonal line drawn from the Bosphorus to the Amanus Mountains which divide Anatolia from North Syria, thus excluding central, northern and eastern Anatolia. Nothing earlier than Early Bronze Age remains have thus far been discovered in Eastern Anatolia (see Chapter VII). In Central Anatolia only the site of Büyük Güllücek can possibly claim to belong to this period, but nothing in the north seems earlier than the beginnings of the Early Bronze Age. This does not imply that these regions were not settled until then; they may have been, but nothing that can be attributed to the Late Chalcolithic Period has yet been revealed by excavation or surface exploration.

In the early nineteen-thirties, when the real characteristics of the Late Chalcolithic Period were still unknown, this name was given to certain cultures such as the first phases of the Early Bronze Age of Alişar. To avoid misunderstandings, it has been renamed E.B.1 here.

Within the Late Chalcolithic culture area of Turkey, four distinct provinces can be discerned as the result of recent surveys. One is in the northwest and along the Aegean coast, a second inland in south-western Anatolia, and two others in the plains of Konya and Cilicia respectively. Their description follows, starting with Cilicia which had contact with North Syria (see Map VII).

LATE CHALCOLITHIC IN THE CILICIAN PLAIN.

Because of its intermediate geographic position, halfway between the Anatolian Plateau and the Syrian Plain, Cilicia's prehistory is irregular, influenced by both its neighbours. This was a swampy lowland region, lush and fertile, but endowed with a climate similar to the Egyptian Delta, glorious in winter, unhealthy in summer. A strong Halaf influence during the fifth millennium

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B.C. enriched the local painted pottery with numerous interesting patterns, but did not contribute much to local shapes. The new pottery, besides copying the pretty Halaf patterns, absorbed polychromy at an earlier date than the Halaf culture itself. This may have been the result of a more developed ceramic industry. The new culture, known as "Middle Chalcolithic" or Mersin XIX-XVII, showed contact with a foreign culture by which it was replaced soon after: Mersin XVI. This seems to have happened only at Mersin.

In level XVI new forms of pottery, the use of copper both for weapons and tools, and a totally new form of architecture were introduced. It probably came from the Anatolian Plateau at a date which well preceded the first appearance of Ubaid pottery from the east. The beginning of the Mersin XVI culture occurred around 4500 B.C., and it would be roughly contemporary with the Amuq D culture across the Amanus.

Mersin XVI pottery introduced features hitherto unknown, such as the first use of handles, which are great loops (Fig. 34 and 36: 1-3). They were probably ancestral to those of the Amuq D (Fig. 6) and "Late Chalcolithic" Byblos cultures (Fig. 1, bottom) and their numerous offshoots in Palestine (Shuna I, W. Rabah, Ghrubba cultures). As in those cultures, red, buff, and brown burnished wares without decoration are common. With them we find a fine class of black burnished wares with white-filled pointillé design (Fig. 34: 1,2), sometimes with horned handles. There are two varieties of painted pottery: a cream-slipped ware, decorated with red, brown or black paint (Fig. 34:3-5, 8) and a trichrome ware ornamented in red and black on a buff ground (Fig. 34:6-7). Artistically this pottery with its pleasing shapes and its intricate geometric design, is the best product of Late Chalcolithic Cilicia. This ware seems to have exerted its influence as far south as Ras Shamra. The rosette patterns may have been borrowed from Halaf, though even that is not certain. Apart from this possibility, the Mersin

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XVI culture is not connected with Halaf. On the contrary, its distribution up the Calycadnus Valley shows unmistakable links with the Konya plain. The strange tab-handles found on many of the bowls appear to be derived from plastic faces such as graced the earlier pottery of Can Hasan in the Konya Plain. The architecture has its best parallels not in the Halaf culture, but on the Anatolian plateau, in the fortress of Hacilar I, built three-quarters of a millennium earlier and at Can Hasan, c. 5000 B.C.

In the Cilician plain, the fortifications of Mersin XVI are the earliest example of this type of structure. Carefully planned, and built of mudbrick on stone foundations, it stood on the top of a fifty-foot mound. The sides had been steeply revetted to form a glacis, adding considerably to its strength. The prevalence of glacis in Early and Middle Bronze Age fortifications in Syria and Palestine probably derives from the fact that many of the sites already stood on ancient mounds.

The fortress (Fig. 35:1) appears to have had a single storey, with a continuous roof over the barrack rooms which provided a platform for the garrison whose main weapon was the sling. Behind the 1.5-metre thick defensive wall, provided with stout offsets, lay a series of rooms each lit by two slit windows in the outer walls. Each room had a small open courtyard in front, grinding platforms, grain bins, hearths and other domestic arrangements. Doors in the side walls made communication possible along the inner face of the wall. On the northwest side of the mound, a track or ramp led from the river to the "Water Gate" which was about two metres wide and flanked on either side by a projecting tower containing a guardroom. An important building, which the excavators thought to be the ruler's residence, formed a rectangular block divided down the middle by a long central courtyard containing a domed oven. A group of rooms lay on either side. Thus the plan of the structure resembles that of many an Early Bronze Age house at Byblos. The fortress was destroyed by fire, probably well

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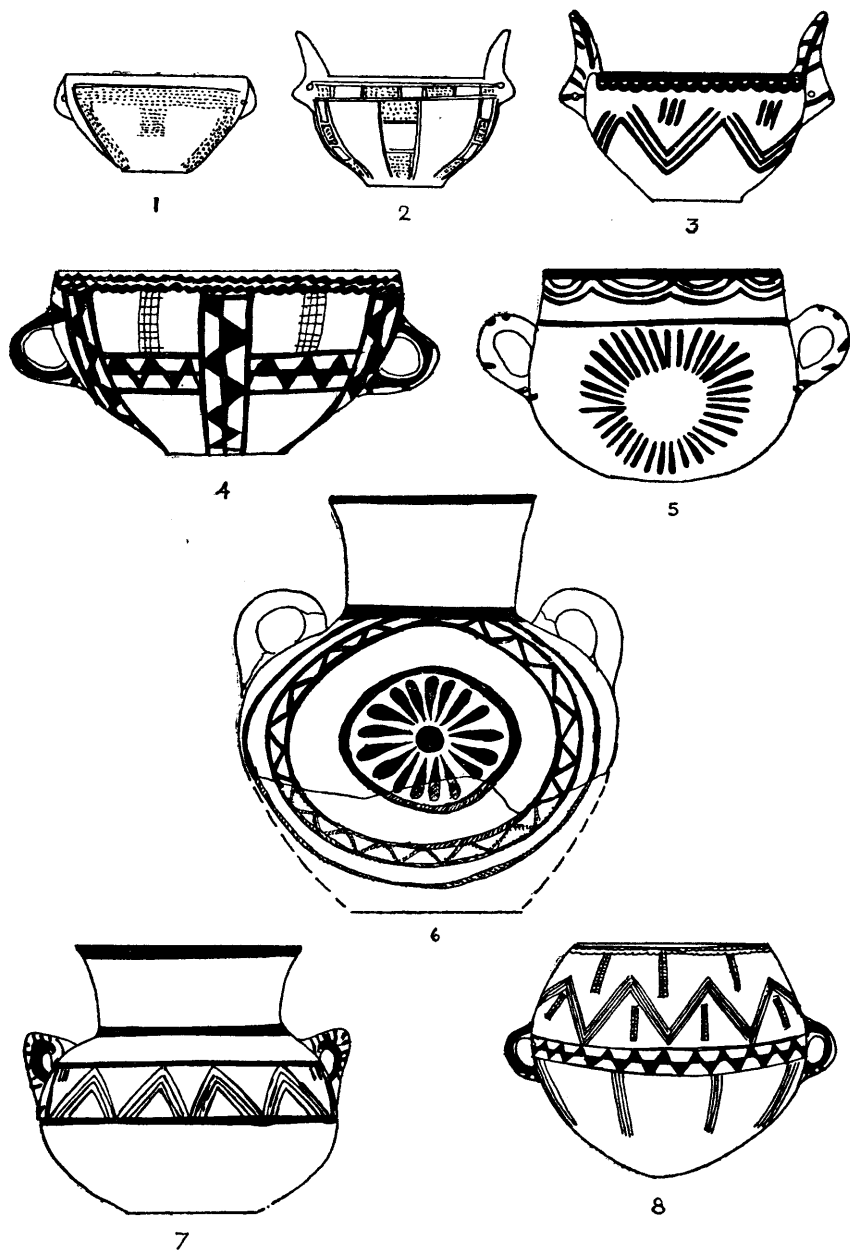


FIGURE 34 — Late Chalcolithic pottery from Mersin XVI in Cilicia.

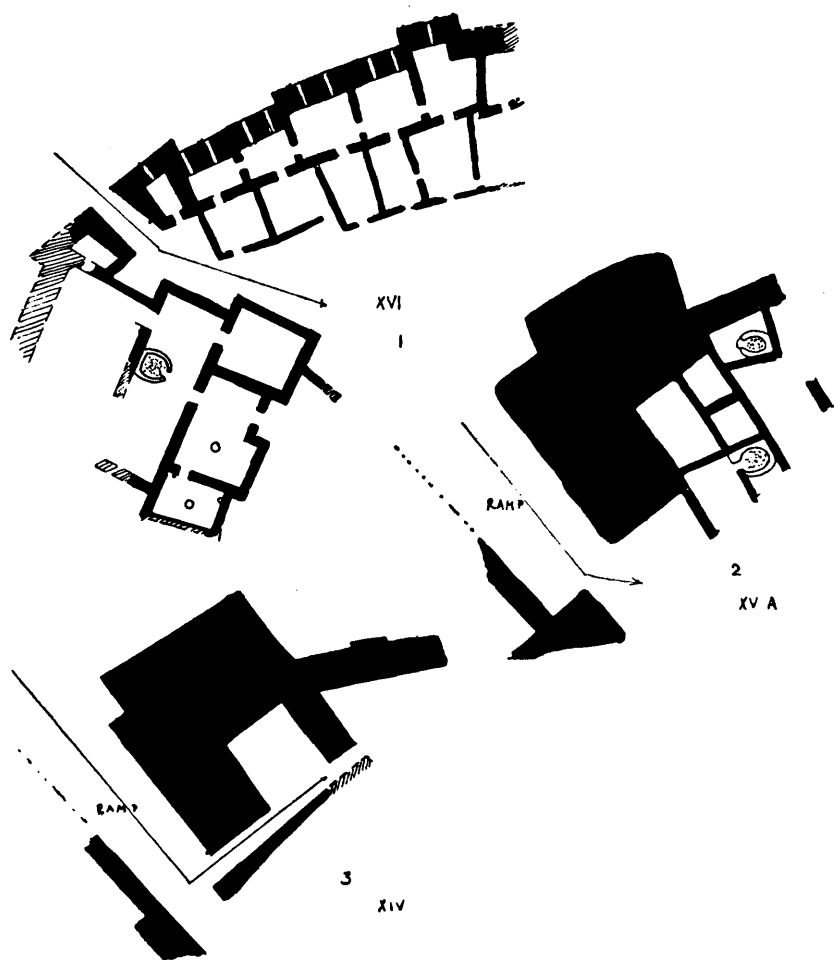


FIGURE 35 — Fortification of Late Chalcolithic: a) Mersin XVI; b) XV; c) XIV; (After J. GARSTANG, *Prehistoric Mersin.*)

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before 4000 B.C., and the change in culture that followed its destruction suggests that it may have been seized and sacked by the native Cilicians.

The Mersin XVI element gradually gave way to the much less artistic productions of later building-levels (XV-XIII) in which eastern influences, the Tell esh-Sheikh ware from the Amuq in particular, gradually increased. New fortifications were built in Mersin XV (Fig.35:2), destroyed in XIV and were rebuilt (Fig.35:3), and destroyed a second time at the end of XIII. Conditions appear to have been unsettled. During this period new handmade burnished wares appeared, in grey colours imitating stone bowls, and also in red and black, but with no decoration. These were roughly contemporary with Amuq E and Ubaid in North Mesopotamia. Cilician contact with these areas is shown by a local variant of Ubaid ware, which in turn was followed by buff wares related to those of Amuq F. Graves of this period were also found at Tarsus (Fig.16, top three rows).

Just before the beginning of the Cilician Early Bronze Age, there was a revival of painted pottery. At Tarsus, and in the plain east of it, a red-on-buff ware is found decorated with chevrons, etc., based on local "Halaf" forms of decoration. At Mersin XII, on the other hand, new and probably foreign wares occurred side by side with the decadent and uninspiring "Ubaid"-like painted vessels; there was no trace of the Tarsus "chevron ware". Once again Mersin's western position was responsible for the appearance of new wares, in this case a fine black burnished pottery decorated with patterns in white paint or occasionally pattern-burnish (Fig.36:6-9). A few sherds of the latter variety have also been found at Tarsus. The shapes, ware and decoration of this Mersin XII pottery can be easily matched in the Konya plain. New forms were bowls with flaring sides (Fig.36:6) sometimes set on pedestals (Fig.36:9). Peculiar flat tab handles may represent the ultimate degeneration of plastic bulls' heads which in earlier times graced the polished

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bowls of the Can Hasan culture near Karaman. Although these wares probably had a northern origin, local peculiarities must be taken into account. A red variety, similarly decorated with white paint and found both in the plain of Konya and in the Calycadnus valley, does not seem to have reached Mersin. However, pattern-burnish, as found at Mersin, had not yet appeared on the plateau. It is somewhat difficult to date this last wave of painted wares in Cilicia, but it should fall somewhere in the second half of the fourth millennium B.C. They came to an abrupt end with the arrival of a further wave of newcomers from the same highland area, the Konya Plain, which ushered in the beginning of the Early Bronze Age, perhaps about 3200 B.C.

THE LATE CHALCOLITHIC PERIOD IN THE KONYA PLAIN. (4500?-3200? B.C.).

The plain of Konya offers few attractions to the average traveller. It is three thousand feet above sea level, treeless and endowed with the lowest rainfall in Turkey. Ten thousand years of deforestation have turned it into a dustbowl in spring and an arid brown waste, shimmering with mirages, in the heat of summer. Ankle-deep dust covers the roads in autumn and angry clouds rim the thirsty plain to give way to a blanket of snow and brilliant sunshine in winter.

Its northern edges are formed by buff, pink and mauve hills, monotonous and forbidding. At the foot of these hills lie salt flats, artemisia steppe, and around Karapınar a genuine desert with black volcanic sand and forlorn cores of ancient volcanoes. All these add to the loneliness of the place. Beyond the hills lie the haunts of the nomad. Villages are poor and few in this arid waste. Life in the plain is only possible where streams flow from the Taurus Mountains which sweep along its southern and western flank. The largest of these, the Çarşamba Çay, is a full-blown river which flows from the Lake of Beyşehir via that of Seydişehir, into the plain

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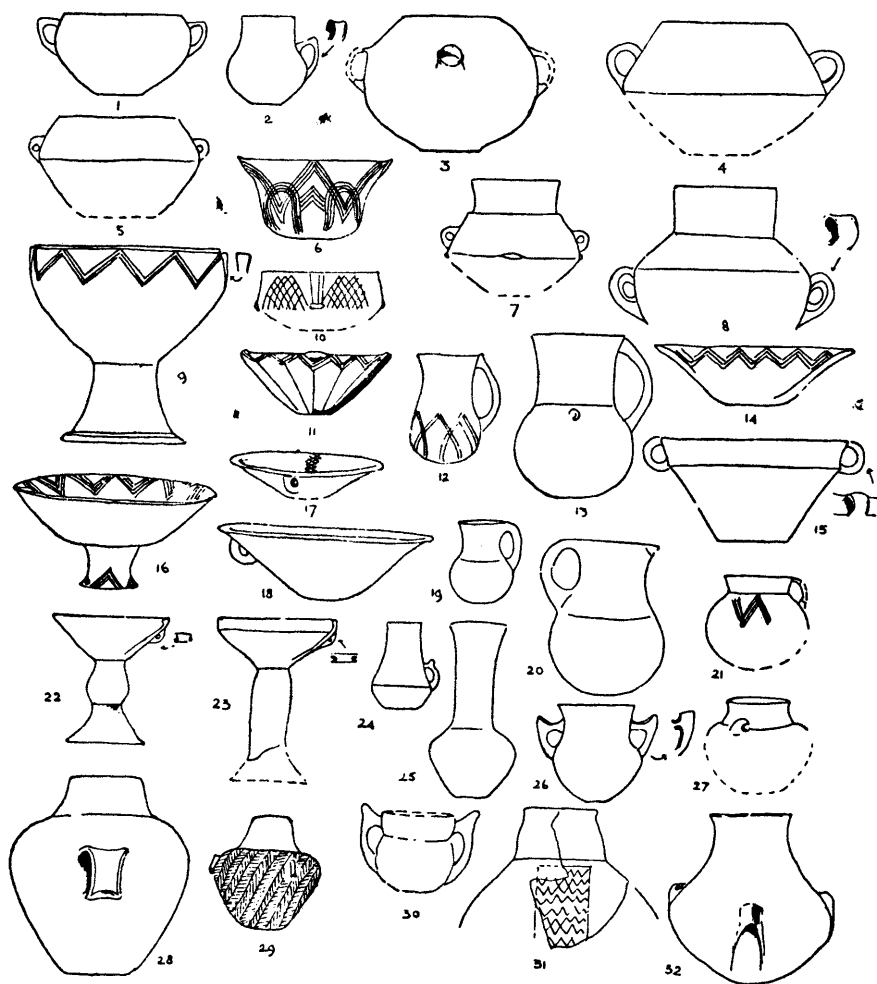


FIGURE 36 — Late Chalcolithic pottery from Southern and Western Anatolia, the Cyclades and Crete.

1-3. Mersin XVI; 4, 5, 7, 8. Late Chalcolithic — Konya Plain; 6, 9. Mersin XII — white painted; 10, 11. Konya Plain — white painted; 12-15. Beycesultan; 16-17. Tigani (Samos); 18. Late Neolithic Phaistos (Crete); 19. Tigani; 20. Iasos (Caria); 21. Beycesultan; 22. Goblet of Pyrgos type (Crete); 23. "Fruitstand" of Kumtepe Ib type (Troad); 24. Tall necked jug from Komotini (Greek Thrace); 25. Vase from Phaistos (Crete); 26. Phaistos; 27. Tigani; 28. Phaistos; 29. Pelos culture; 30. Tigani; 31. Tigani (pattern-burnished); 32. Iasos.

(after J. GARSTANG, *Prehistoric Mersin*; J. MELLAART, in *AS*, XIII, 1963; S. LLOYD and J. MELLAART, *Beycesultan*, I, (1962); A. FURNESS, in *PPS*, XXII, 1956; D.H. FRENCH, in *AS*, XI, 1961; D. LEVI, in *Annuario*, 1961-62 (Iasos), 1957-58 (Phaistos).)

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of Çumra, the westernmost and most fertile of the plain's three sections. It is here, at the site of Çatal Hüyük, that the earliest civilisation of Anatolia has been found, dating from the Early Neolithic Period in the seventh millennium B.C. This was presumably followed by a Late Neolithic culture of which nothing is known, and a known Early Chalcolithic culture with a distinctive painted pottery named after Çatal Hüyük West. The Early Chalcolithic culture had at least two main phases; the later one is best known from the burnt settlement of Can Hasan near Karaman. Its destruction may have taken place around 4900 B.C., which brings us to the beginning of the Late Chalcolithic Period in Anatolia. However, in the Konya plain, as in Cilicia, there is a "Middle Chalcolithic", more closely linked to what went before than to the typical Late Chalcolithic of the plateau, with dark burnished wares and little or no painting. As at Mersin, the "Middle Chalcolithic" of Can Hasan has several varieties of painted pottery; a black on red ware, a black or brown buff-ware and a polychrome ware, as well as plain red and black burnished pottery. These are parallel to Mersin XIX-XVII, the period in which Halaf influence made itself felt there. In the Konya plain, there is no trace of this influence so the development is probably a local one. It is derived in part from the later painted wares of the preceding Early Chalcolithic Period and possibly influenced Mersin. The tendency of that west Cilician site was to reflect northern developments, whereas Tarsus appears to be more representative of the Cilician plain itself. This "Middle Chalcolithic" of Can Hasan (discovered in 1962 and thus not yet published) gave way about 4500 B.C., or somewhat later, to an altogether different culture which is truly Late Chalcolithic and is found over the greater part of the Konya plain.

So far only sherds and broken vessels have been discovered and nothing at all is known of Late Chalcolithic buildings, metalwork or other artifacts. It would seem that many sites were settled for the first time and that there was a break with earlier cultural

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traditions. The new customs were probably introduced by a new people, of a different, inferior culture. Where they came from is not known. Resemblances of their pottery to the Late Chalcolithic wares of Beycesultan in southwestern Anatolia would seem to indicate a northern or northwestern origin. They may have drifted in from the marginal areas of the earlier painted pottery cultures, the distribution of which was restricted to the southern half of the country.

At this time straw was first used in clay as a temper instead of small grits. Walls of vessels were thicker, and the firing less well controlled so that grey cores and mottled surfaces are common. A thick and often crackled burnished slip was frequent and the pottery was mostly dark in colour; black, brown, grey, purple and red outnumber buff and orange pieces. Shapes also lacked the grace of the earlier cultures and tend to be heavy with enormous lugs. Sharply carinated shapes were common for bowls, jugs and jars (Fig. 36:4-5). Other jars have funnel necks (Fig. 36:7-8) and bowls are hemispherical or straight-sided. No bowls on pedestals have yet been found, although numerous shapes are matched in the Mersin XVI ware. Coarse ware was also common at this time. Some was wiped or brushed to produce a scored surface. Incision was not common, but there was much white paint, especially on finer shapes and perhaps mostly in the later phases of the period. The patterns were few and simple (Fig. 36:10, 11) and exclusively linear. Plastic ornament was by no means rare and many of the vessels give the impression of having wood or metal prototypes.

LATE CHALCOLITHIC IN THE SOUTH-WEST OF ANATOLIA. (ca. 5000-3200 B.C.).

In the southwest of Anatolia, the Early Chalcolithic Hacilar culture was destroyed by new elements, probably from the north-west, who introduced a much inferior culture, the Late Chalcolithic. This culture is now fairly well-known from the excavation of the

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great mound of Beycesultan in the Upper Maeander Valley (Pl. XVIa). The site was surrounded by heavily wooded hills and was partially encircled by the Maeander River, near a ford. The mound of Beycesultan evidently owed its importance not only to the lush valley in which it lies, but to its situation on the natural route from inner Anatolia to the Aegean coast. Fifty kilometres south of Beycesultan a low rim of hills protects the upper plain from the deep rift valley which leads to the coast. The descent, though abrupt, can be negotiated on foot in about an hour, easily the most convenient route from the Anatolian plateau. This and a number of other sites in the southwest were first settled at this period. Further south, in the Hacilar area, there are a number of sites where remains of the later culture overlie those of the earlier Hacilar culture.

An overlap between the two can be ruled out, but there could have been a temporary hiatus. At Beycesultan there are at least twenty building levels of this Late Chalcolithic Period, and by the beginning of the Early Bronze Age the mound measured eleven metres in height. These thick deposits clearly show that this was a period of great length, but with little internal development and no great achievement. However, it was during this long period that the foundation was being laid for the coming of the Early Bronze Age. The great steps forward were not so evident in pottery or living conditions as in the particularly Anatolian field of metallurgy. At the very beginning of the Early Bronze Age, parts of Anatolia were fully familiar with the manufacture of tin-bronze, a knowledge they could only have obtained by experiment during the preceding period. The first settlers at Beycesultan were certainly not nomads, for the earliest remains are not those of camp sites, but neat rectangular houses built of mud brick with rectangular rooms and plastered walls. Stone foundations were lacking, but round hearths and clay storage bins containing wheat were a standard feature. The stone industry was decadent, which is an indication of the use of metal tools. None have been found, but other

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copper objects such as needles, awls, bars and a fragment of dagger, prove the use of this metal. A silver ring shows the first use of this attractive metal, so common in Turkey, and it may be assumed that gold was also known. The Beycesultan settlement was large, and in its fourth and last phase it was surrounded with a defensive wall, which was not unusual in Anatolia where fortifications were used as early as the sixth millennium B.C.

Like their predecessors, these people practised agriculture, kept sheep, goats, cattle, pigs and dogs and hunted deer and boar with wooden pikes and sling. They spun, wove cloth and mats, and used baskets, leather vessels and pottery. The pottery is like that of the Konya plain, straw tempered, heavy, not too well-fired and generally dark. The only decoration was painted in white with fine and simple geometric patterns on bowls (Fig.36:14) and jugs (Fig.36:12). Shapes are few and unimaginative (Fig.36:12-15, 21) and though the pottery can be divided into four successive phases, little development may be traced except in the bowls. Jugs were particularly common in this culture and also deep-flaring bowls. Pedestals did not occur and lugs were rare, except in the second phase which shows some links with the Late Chalcolithic of the Konya Plain. As in that culture, an increase of sophistication is only noticeable towards the end of the period at the approach of the Early Bronze Age.

Another feature of this period, attested at Beycesultan and Kusura, is the burial of the dead in cist or pithos graves. In western Anatolia the graves, except for children, were outside the settlements. At the (final) Late Chalcolithic cemetery at Kusura, the dead were accompanied by one or two pots and West Anatolian burial gifts were nearly always scanty, except in the case of royal tombs. The cemeteries of Beycesultan, which would be well worth excavating, have not yet been discovered.

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LATE CHALCOLITHIC PERIOD OF NORTHWEST ANATOLIA AND THE AEGEAN COAST.

The Late Chalcolithic of southwestern Anatolia developed without a break into the Early Bronze Age, ca. 3200 B.C. Throughout the latter period this area was in contact with the Aegean coast by means of the great river valleys of the Maeander and the Hermos, whose headwaters reached into this culture province. Southwestern Anatolia was linked by these natural routes to the coast and to the southern end of the northwestern province which reaches down to Izmir (classical Smyrna). Recent explorations by Mr. D.H. French in the northwest, and excavations by Prof. D. Levi in Caria have shown that cultural links go back to a much earlier period.

Archaeological surveys show Late Chalcolithic settlements of a Beycesultan type in the inland area between Manisa and Akhisar (the real centre of ancient Lydia) and in the adjacent plain of Balıkesir to the north. There are no surface remains for the first phase of this culture. However, the Late Chalcolithic settlers of the southwest may well have originated in those areas. Such a point can only be established by future excavations.

The final Late Chalcolithic phase is best represented in the inland areas. By this time the links with the Beycesultan area had become greatly weakened, giving way to a local culture known as Kumtepe Ib, from a site in the Troad near Troy. This was excavated thirty years ago but the findings are still unpublished. From the stratigraphy of that site we know the Kumtepe Ib immediately preceded the Troy I culture (the beginning of the Early Bronze Age), of which it is evidently the ancestor. From this it is possible to establish a rough sequence of Late Chalcolithic cultures for the maritime provinces along the Aegean coast and the offshore islands. From the nature of these finds it is clear that although the inland areas can be linked with Beycesultan, the coast showed other connections. In fact, it formed a different, though related, culture province.

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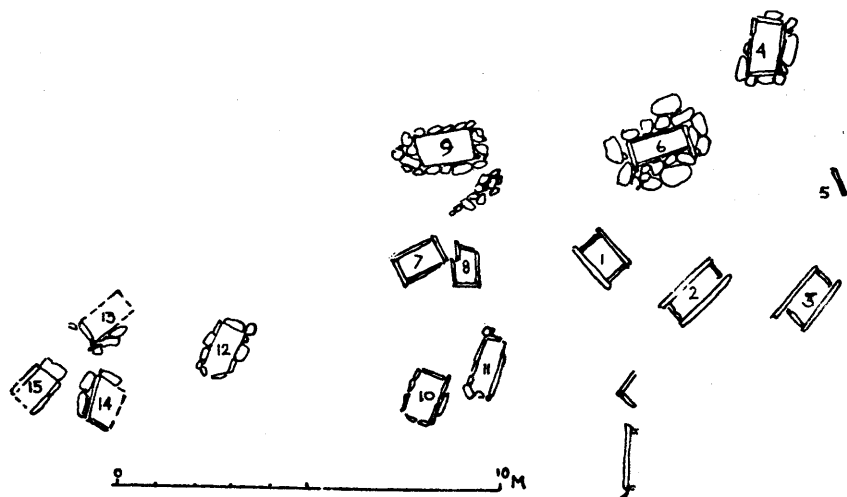


FIGURE 37 — The cemetery of cist graves at Iasos, Caria. pp. 87, 101.
(after D. LEVI, in *Annuario*, 1961-62.)

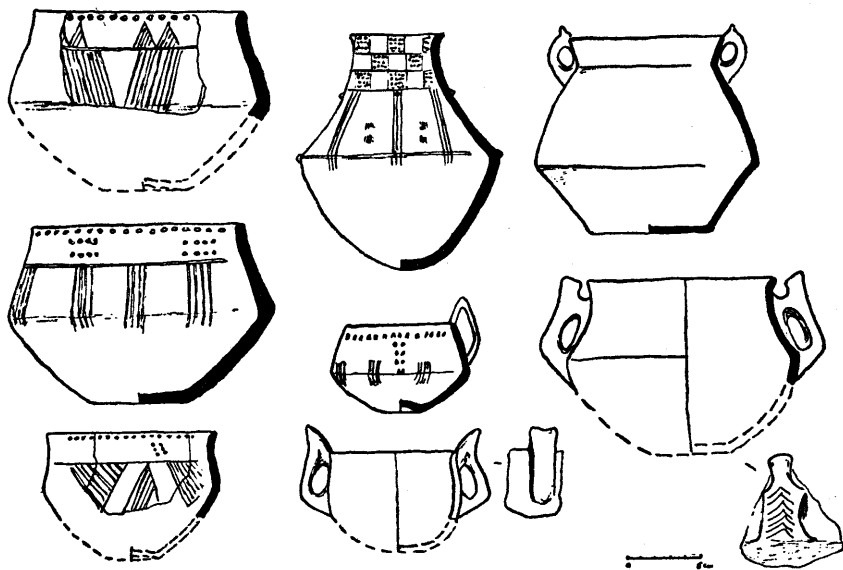


FIGURE 38 — Late Chalcolithic pottery from Büyük Güllücek in Central Anatolia.
(redrawn from H.Z. KOŞAY, *Ausgrabungen von Büyük Güllücek*, Ankara, 1957.)

Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages in the Near East

The last Late Chalcolithic phase of Kumtepe Ib is widespread in N.W. Anatolia and in the islands of Lemnos and Chios. Typical pottery shapes, such as the bowl with rolled rim on a pedestal (Fig. 36:23) even occur in Naxos, Paros, Nisos, Amorgos in the Cyclades group and in the Pyrgos group of Crete (Fig. 36:22). These wares were distributed through maritime trade to Attica, Bœotia, Thessaly, and along the northern shore of the Aegean (see Map VIII). At Kumtepe, in the Troad, this phase was preceded by one in which pattern-burnished ware, already known from Mersin XII in Cilicia, was in use, but on the wane, in Kumtepe Ia. At a number of other sites down the coast, at Beşiktepe and at Tigani on Samos in particular, the pattern-burnished ware is abundant (Fig. 36:16, 17, 31) and a few sherds at Beycesultan inland would date it to an earlier phase of the Late Chalcolithic. Similar sherds have been found at Paros in the Cyclades, and they are not unusual at Aigina in the Saronic gulf or in the Pyrgos Culture of Crete. Although these wares are not all from the same period, this form of decoration was evidently popular in the Aegean.

Where it can be dated securely, as in Anatolia, it belongs to the middle phases of the Late Chalcolithic (except in Cilicia). In many ways it was a substitute for the elaborate white painting on dark vessels, since it was probably easier to produce the faint pattern by burnishing than by painting. A leather-hard vessel before firing could be burnished with a pebble or a piece of wood, making patterns, which after firing would come out dark on a light ground. This saved the labour of painting in white on a dark background with a similar effect, as the white paint had a tendency to be obscured in the firing.

Although Tigani on Samos offers interesting parallels to Beycesultan, it is clear that this unstratified material represents another culture. On this pottery, incision was as common as pattern-burnish. White-painted decoration was relatively rare (Fig. 36:16). A particular feature of all these cultures was the use of horned handles —

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notably missing at Beycesultan, but widespread in northern Anatolia, Greece, Crete and the Balkans (Fig.36:24, 26, 30). The earliest examples of these occur in Hacilar I, at the beginning of the fifth millennium, but they were not perpetuated.

THE CYCLADES.

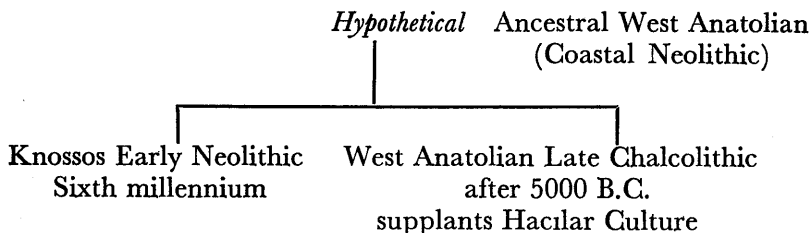
The first settlements on the offshore islands in the northern Aegean appear to date to a phase in the Late Chalcolithic, and a similar pattern may be observed in the Cyclades, further south.

Our knowledge of these islands is extremely restricted. Their earliest occupation must have been at the beginning of the Neolithic Period, because obsidian from Melos was in wide use throughout the Aegean at this time. The earliest known remains from the cist grave cemeteries of the Pelos group yielded pottery and marble vessels. The pottery has shapes which are similar to those of the Late Chalcolithic on the Carian mainland, while the marble vessels are of local origin. The recent discovery of a prehistoric cemetery of cist graves (Fig.37) at Iasos on the Carian coast, sheds new light on the origin of this early Cycladic culture. The Iasos pottery includes the same funnel-necked jars (Fig.36:32), and bottles with vertical tubular lugs which are so characteristic of Amorgos, Naxos, Paros, etc., in the same brown or blackish grey ware (Fig.36:29). At Iasos there are jugs (like Fig.36:12) with white painted decorations which link up with Tigani on Samos (Fig.36:19), with Chios and Calymnos and with the last Late Chalcolithic phase of Beycesultan and Kusura (Fig.36:12-13). This new evidence from Caria tends to support Thucydides' statement that the prehistoric inhabitants of the Cyclades were Carians. Seafaring might account for the Kumtepe I b vessels in the Cyclades, the spread of the pattern-burnished ware and the marble Cycladic vases found at Tigani, Kumtepe and other sites.

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CRETE.

Far to the south, the island of Crete was inhabited as early as 6000 B.C. It is now fairly certain from the pottery and food plants brought with them, that the first settlers came from western Anatolia at about the same time the Late Neolithic settlers arrived at Hacilar, where they developed the first culture with painted pottery. In Crete, however, older traditions prevailed and the pottery was dark and burnished, decorated with incised patterns which were filled with white chalk. If one accepts the radiocarbon dating for Knossos, it must be assumed that the ancestral culture from which the Knossos Neolithic sprung was already flourishing at the end of the seventh millennium, probably in coastal western Anatolia. Moreover the Cretan Early Neolithic already contained a number of derivations that are typical of the Late Neolithic cultures in West Anatolia. This suggests that the earliest Cretan Neolithic and the West Anatolian Late Chalcolithic cultures, a thousand years later, descended from a common ancestor. Although possible, further excavations are needed to prove the relationship.



The Early and Middle Neolithic Periods of Crete flourished contemporarily with the Hacilar culture. The Cretan Late Neolithic, best known from Phaistos, presents numerous parallels with the West Anatolian Late Chalcolithic culture, both that of Beycesultan and of the Konya Plain. It probably came to Crete through fresh arrivals from the Anatolian mainland or the offshore islands, or through a strong increase in trade. Whatever its origin, there

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existed fine black and red burnished-wares, some decorated with coarsely executed pattern burnish. Others were marked with coarsely incised filled triangles and, new and unexpected, painted decoration in red ochreous paint on black vessels. Horned handles (Fig. 36:26), like those of the Konya Plain, were also used. Many shapes had sharp metallic profiles (Fig. 36:25) and although local forms prevailed, we find straight-necked jugs of Beycesultan type, shallow flaring bowls of similar origin (Fig. 36:18), funnel-necked jars and others. Links with Cos, Calymnos and Samos are strong and show the way in which these west Anatolian influences reached the island.

Towards the end of the period, perhaps contemporary with the fourth Late Chalcolithic phase, or shortly thereafter, there appeared a "subneolithic" or "Pyrgos phase". This included fine pattern-burnished wares, goblets and fruit-stands of the Kumtepe Ib type, together with Cycladic figurines and other island features. This phase overlapped the beginning of the Early Bronze Age just as it did in Northwestern Anatolia, and during its first period (Early Minoan I) both new and old wares were found. However, it is not yet possible to accurately date this period.

During the "Pyrgos" phase the dead were buried in communal burial caves. There is still no trace of metal objects at this time. It is possible to demonstrate, archaeologically, that the islands of the Aegean derived their culture and population from Western Anatolia, but influences emanating from that country went far beyond these islands. In mainland Greece during the Late Chalcolithic Period (locally termed "Late Neolithic", for metal was scarce or non-existent), many parallels may be drawn to the island features which are originally Anatolian. These similarities may also be found on the northern shore of the Aegean, in Macedonia, Thrace and the inland regions beyond (see Map VIII). Within the limits of this work, it is impossible to describe the multitudinous ways in which Anatolian influences contributed to the formation of the various Early Bronze Ages in Greece and southeastern Europe.

NORTHERN ANATOLIA

Within northern Anatolia there are a series of ceramic groups (or cultures) belonging mainly to the last phase of the Chalcolithic Period. In the Troad, on the islands of Lemnos and Chios and inland, occurs the Kumtepe Ib culture with oval mudbrick houses on stone foundations. Pedestalled goblets, called fruitstands, were characteristic with rolled rims and a few tubular lugs set below or, occasionally, on the rim. Projections on the rim were featured and sometimes these took the form of miniature horns. Carinated bowls with inverted rims were found, but these were unusual. Slightly everted rims were more common, frequently provided with the same tabular lugs, horizontally perforated. Jugs were made, but they still had horizontal mouths since the typical "beak spout" (Fig.52) began at the very end of the period. Pattern-burnish was then out of fashion, but white paint decorations were common, especially at Lemnos, and horned handles were still popular. Burial customs are not well documented; extramural burial seems to have been the rule except at Kumtepe. Funeral gifts were rare or non-existent and metal objects are not definitely recorded. Late Chalcolithic pottery has been found further east at Pazaryeri (with bowls like Beycesultan Late Chalcolithic 4) and at Yazır, near Sivrihisar in Phrygia. A fruitstand has been found here with white-painted bowls like those from the Konya Plain, also incised and pointillé ware and bowls with horned handles. Some similarities can be observed with the sites of Alaca Hüyük and Büyük Güllücek in Central Anatolia, the only two which may date back to the Late Chalcolithic Period, as here defined. Büyük Güllücek was a hamlet on top of a hill in the middle of a forested region. Rectangular rooms were common, containing hearths and ovens. The inhabitants were buried in contracted position below the floor. Two building levels of this period have been found, but the pottery is homogeneous and it is clear that the settlement was short-lived. At Alaca Hüyük on the other hand, at least six levels have been discovered

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but the material still awaits publication. Although most of the tools were of flint and imported obsidian, these people knew how to manufacture copper daggers (Fig.17b) and flat axes. They used socketed battle-axes for warfare of a type which is common throughout Early Bronze Age Anatolia. At Alaca Hüyük the most distinctive product was pottery, dark in colour, burnished and frequently incised with a wealth of patterns (Fig.38). White paint decorated the pottery, similar to the cultures further south and west. Some red paint was used on buff or black ware, as at Yazir and Phaistos. Coarse ware had rope decoration, and bowls and jars were made with horned handles. Other handles imitated animal heads; pedestals were short and rare and the fruitstand was apparently unknown; local clay figurines were clumsy. This Büyük Güllücek pottery has also been found at Alaca Hüyük, but with different pottery which may be of later date. This included fruitstands of the Alişar type (Fig.59:2), which cannot be earlier than the Early Bronze Age. The date of Büyük Güllücek cannot be firmly established, but it may be late fourth millennium. The origin of this culture is unknown, but, surprisingly, the pottery shows links with western Anatolia and, through its large horned handles, with Thrace and eastern Bulgaria. It is unlikely that Büyük Güllücek was an isolated site, but the north of Anatolia still presents one of the greatest archaeological voids in the region.

Our knowledge of culture patterns in Central and Eastern Anatolia does not go back beyond the beginning of the Early Bronze Age. Perhaps the excavations at Kültepe, near Kayseri, which have produced such a wealth of information about the Early and Middle Bronze Ages in this area, will soon penetrate deeper layers, and shed light on the earlier prehistory of Central Anatolia.

CHAPTER X

THE EARLY BRONZE AGE ca. 3200-1900 B.C. THE FIRST PHASE (E.B.1)

The period following the Late Chalcolithic is conveniently described as the Early Bronze Age, even though only a few areas had mastered the technique of making bronze. Actually copper remained the more common material for the manufacture of tools, weapons, objects and vessels. Precious metals such as gold, silver, electrum were widely used. Iron, the most precious of all, was rare. "Early Metal Age" has therefore been proposed, but the other term has now been in use for so long that, provided the meaning is understood, there seems to be no reason to discard it. "Third millennium" is frequently used as a term for the same period. However, it lacks accuracy, especially now that it is known that the Early Bronze Age might reach back to the fourth millennium. The dates given here are rough estimates and still controversial. It should not be assumed that the Early Bronze Age started or ended everywhere at the same time, for this was evidently not the case. No single date for this period in Anatolia has yet been fixed by the radiocarbon dating method.

Generally speaking, the Early Bronze Age appears to have developed from the preceding culture without the arrival of new elements. There is no actual break or dividing line between these two periods, and the quickening tempo noticeable everywhere at the end of the Late Chalcolithic foreshadowed the beginning of the new age, one of widening horizons and greater prosperity. The cause of this increased prosperity is still unknown, for the

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period, as a whole, belongs to prehistory and there are no written records. At the end of the period Assyrian merchants became established at Kültepe near Kayseri and at numerous other sites in central and southeastern Anatolia. It is clear that trade, especially in metal, may have been one of its main resources, if not the chief one. During this period metallurgy was practised on a large scale. Since Anatolia was the richest country in ores in the Near East, its wealth was assured. Riches from the royal tombs at Alaca Hüyük, Mahmatlar, Horoztepe and Dorak, and from the royal treasury at Troy include many exotic materials. These range in origin from Badakhshan and the Kuen-Lun mountains in the east to the Baltic in the northwest, so it is clear that the trade was organised on an international scale. A succession of caravans, culminating in those of the black Anatolian donkeys, carried goods over plains, mountains and rivers, while ships traded in the Black Sea, Marmora, the Aegean and the Mediterranean throughout this period. Trade was evidently organised by local rulers who must have protected the merchants both physically and by treaties with other potentates.

The Early Bronze Age can be divided into three main phases, of which the first is the least known. The second marked the height of prosperity throughout the country, and the third was hardly less wealthy in the centre of Anatolia and the Pontic provinces. Trade contacts were established with Mesopotamia and Syria under Sargonid rule. In the west and south, however, the prosperous age of E.B.2 ended in catastrophe when invaders from the north overran the earlier cultures and upset the balance of power around 2300 B.C. Some sections recovered earlier than others and trade was soon re-established in the Aegean, but other areas, such as the Konya plain, lay waste for several centuries. During this period it is likely that the first speakers of Indo-European languages forced their way into Anatolia, to be rapidly followed by others.

At the end of E.B.3 we can trace a gradual development

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into the Middle Bronze Age, upset by only minor disruptions. Only in the south (Cilicia) and the east of Anatolia and in the Pontic provinces has the transition been obscured by lack of excavations.

Throughout this long period, the culture remained essentially Anatolian and no changes in the material culture were introduced by the Indo-European invaders. Judging from the Late Bronze Age texts the invaders' influence was confined to language, religion and political and social organisation, but the culture which emerged from this amalgamation was more Anatolian than foreign. The Indo-Europeans absorbed the superior civilisation of the native population so their invasion is marked, archaeologically, by destruction and desertion of earlier settlements along the passage of their migration. No tell-tale traces, such as tumuli, remain of their steppe heritage, and it is doubtful that they introduced the horse or the chariot to the area.

THE BEGINNING OF THE ANATOLIAN EARLY BRONZE AGE (E.B.1).

At least fourteen different cultures have been distinguished during this period in Anatolia, mainly on the basis of their pottery (see Map X), with each occupying a distinct geographical district. Our knowledge of this panoply of cultures is extremely uneven. Their distribution has been quite carefully defined by archaeological field surveys in the last decade, but excavation (and therefore a wider knowledge of the cultures concerned) has been restricted. The area is so vast that it will take many years to complete the present discoveries. Some cultures are known only from surface pottery; others from deep soundings which produced pottery and little else. In still other areas only the cemeteries have been unearthed, but no settlements, or vice versa. Some cultures are more advanced than others, or seem to be so from our present knowledge. Thus, it is difficult to indicate a particular area as the centre and pivot of Early Bronze Age culture. Unity was never achieved in prehistoric Anatolia and one of its most interesting features is the

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cleavage between the west and south, and the centre and east. This is marked not only in pottery, metalwork, figurines and other remains, but is equally noticeable in burial habits, extramural being the rule in the west, intramural in the east. The dividing line runs diagonally from the Gulf of Izmit to the mountains east of Ankara, and then down to the Amanus Mountains (line of crosses on Map X). Very little contact took place across this "boundary", which may have been an ethnic and linguistic one, until the breakdown of cultural frontiers at the beginning of E.B.3.

Both areas were alike in religion, which, among these pre-Indo-European Anatolians, was still one of the agricultural fertility type in which a "Great Goddess" played a predominant part. The figurines and statues characteristic of such a cult are essentially the same, for they portray the goddess and her attendants, male, female, or animal. Their names, and the rituals and customs of such religions no doubt varied from area to area, but this is scarcely expressed in the archaeological material which has been found.

Of the Anatolian E.B.A cultures, the best-known is the North-west Anatolian Troy I culture, the distribution of which is purely maritime (Map VIII).

No single culture in Anatolia can boast a larger number of excavated sites: Troy, Poliochni, Thermi, Emporio, and soundings at Bayrakli, Helvaci-Hüyücek, Bozköy-Hüyücek, Karaağaçtepe and Kumtepe (Ic), but nothing is known of their cemeteries, except that they were extramural. There is now evidence that this culture was also represented along parts of the northern sea-board of the Aegean, with a strong centre in coastal Macedonia, where it starts off the local Early Bronze Age. From the fortress of Troy I, the city of Poliochni (II-IV) and the township of Thermi (I-V) a clear picture of the life of their inhabitants can be obtained. In this region stone, easily available, was used for the lower parts of the walls, not merely for foundations. Sleeping platforms, ledges, benches and other items of built-in furniture were fashioned in stone

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covered with plaster. In the windy and rainy climate of the northern Aegean the plaster has not survived, so that many features stripped of their cover are hard to interpret. Houses were built on a rectangular plan and consisted of a long hall with a porch in front opening onto a courtyard. This is called the *megaron*. The main living-room had a central hearth, benches, etc. and was lighted by windows set directly below the flat roof. The houses were one-storeyed, sometimes free-standing, but more often grouped in blocks with party walls. Narrow streets or lanes separated the blocks and served as thoroughfares of the settlements. Wider streets led to gates in the city walls as at Troy, Poliochni and Thermi V. The walls were provided with gate towers and bastions, and approached by ramps. At Poliochni the stone-built walls still stand five metres high and have slit windows for archers. At Troy they are nearly as well preserved, but obscured by later remains, since much of Troy I is unexcavated. Only public buildings have been found, so far, at Poliochni which is the most impressive site of the period. An immense storeroom lies north of the main thoroughfare, and just a little inside the gate and on the opposite side there is a great hall provided with tiers of benches along the entire long side of the building, the earliest form of theatre construction.

As the settlements grew, new quarters were added and new walls built, extending the occupied area. Food was stored in large vessels or clay-lined bins, either raised or sunk in the floor. Wheat and barley were grown and this was parched and baked in bread ovens or boiled in three-legged cooking pots. Carbonised remains of figs have been found in Poliochni. The coastal sites people were also engaged in fishing and the gathering of shellfish. Domesticated animals, such as cattle, pigs, sheep and goats, were kept everywhere. Stone tools were still common; blades of local flint and obsidian (not necessarily imported, as it is found in the Troad) were used for cutting or sickle blades. Polished stone axes and adzes were made for tree-felling and carpentry. Although arrowheads were

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found only at Poliochni, perforated battle-axes and maceheads of hard stones, beautifully polished, were used as weapons of war. Bone tools were common, especially awls and piercers for leather work. Spindlewhorls, biconic in shape and ornamented with incised patterns filled with white chalk or ground-up bone, and crude loomweights, show that weaving was extensively practised.

None of this equipment shows any technical advance over that of the previous period. In metallurgy, however, progress was manifest; at Thermi and Troy I true bronze was used, although the tin must have been imported, as there was none in Anatolia. Childe has suggested Bohemia as a source for tin but this remains to be verified. However, this culture's interest in Eastern Europe is beyond any doubt. A late Troy I hoard from Poliochni yielded three bronze daggers, flat or with a pronounced midrib, five flat axes or hoes (of a type which first appeared in the Late Chalcolithic all over the Near East) and one fine socketed axe of advanced type. Thirteen other flat axes came from a hoard near Edremit and Troy, while Thermi and the cemeteries of the Yortan culture inland are equally rich in tools and weapons. The metal armament of this period consisted of socketed battle-axes, daggers, and spearheads with two slots in the blade for tying thongs round the split wooden shaft into which it was set. As yet there is no evidence for swords in this period. Curved knives (see Fig. 50:3), awls, needles, punches, drills, chisels and pins with bird terminals were all made of metal, thus indicating that plenty of copper and bronze was available then. As neither Lesbos nor Lemnos have natural ore deposits the richness of metal on those islands must have been derived from trade.

The pottery of the Troy I culture is a more developed form of its predecessor, Kumtepe Ib. Black, dark grey, brown and red burnished handmade pottery continued, but some of the old shapes like the fruitstand disappeared, except at Poliochni, and other new shapes, like the beak-spouted jug, became common. Pedestalled

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vessels and jugs and jars on three feet were a feature of this period, many with lids to keep out dust and insects. At Troy, incised and white-filled decoration was more common than any other; at Poliochni white paint survived the previous period, but its use was more restricted. Typical were horns on rims, horizontally placed and perforated tubular lugs on bowl rims (in the previous period they were set below the rims). There are, however, marked local variations in the pottery of Troy I, Poliochni and Thermi, showing the potters' great originality. Some of the vessels undoubtedly copied metal prototypes, but no metal vessels of this period have yet come to light. Such negative evidence is far from conclusive, for corroded silver or bronze was not likely to be salvaged by tomb robbers.

The Early Bronze Age culture of Macedonia seems to derive directly from Early Troy I and may represent an offshoot of seafaring Anatolians. Its earliest pottery is very close to that of Troy I, while later layers show distinct local peculiarities. This is not the only direction in which we see an expansion of this culture. At a site called Mikhalits, just inside the Bulgarian border, within the circle of hills that frame the great plain of Turkish Thrace, a site has been found with a culture so close to that of Troy I that it might be called "Thracian Troy I". More pottery of the same nature has been found by the Greeks on the Maritsa River at Pythion. The Mikhalits ware also reveals a number of local peculiarities in shapes and decoration, some of which have parallels at Karaağaçtepe on the Dardanelles across from Troy or in Macedonia. The frequent rope impressed patterns filled with white chalk were a simple form of incision. The ornamentation was richer than at Troy I, with much pointillé decoration, ribbed lugs and handles. The expansion of Troy I culture into Thrace and Macedonia was no doubt responsible for the stimulus that led to the formation of local Early Bronze Age cultures in Southeastern Europe (e.g. Cernavoda, Ezero, Karanovo VII). All these contain Kumtepe Ib and early Troy I derivations and the influence may have been in the form of

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a metal trade with finished products from Anatolia being exchanged for raw ore from the Balkans. The earliest metal objects in these cultures have clearly been influenced by the Trojan school of metal-work.

There is much less evidence for contact of this culture with Greece and the Cyclades. Some Cycladic objects of the Syros culture have been found in Poliochni III, but Thermi was devoid of southern imports. Troy I may have traded with the south, but the few definitely imported sherds do not establish close chronological relations with Greece or the Cyclades as has recently been shown. The publication of the Poliochni and Emporio excavations may throw more light on this obscure subject.

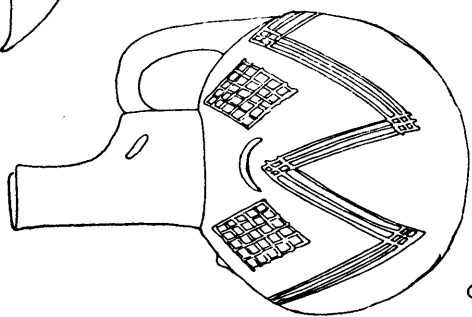
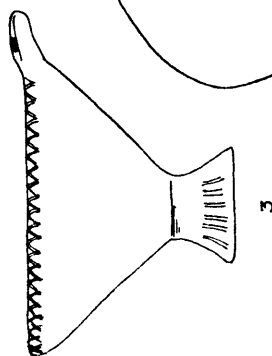
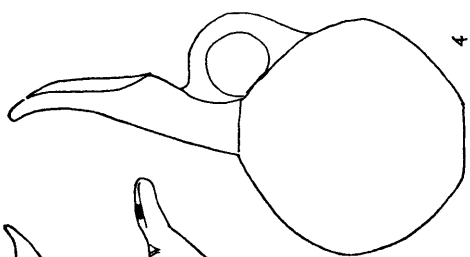
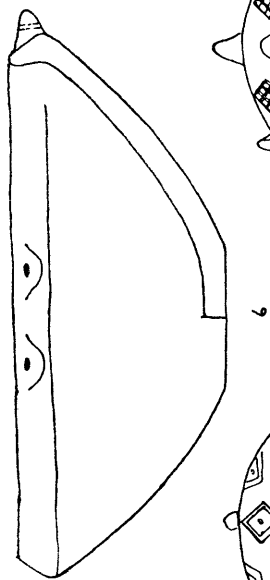
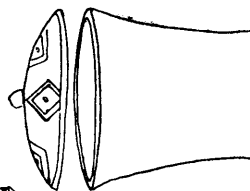
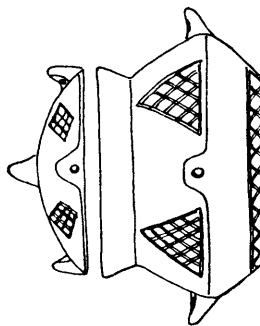
Closely related to the Troy I culture is that of its inland neighbour, the Yortan culture, which centres on the plain of Balıkesir and the drainage basin of the Simav Çayı, the classical Makestos. Until a few years ago the settlements of this culture were unknown, but not its cemeteries. These have been ruthlessly destroyed by the peasants searching for whole pots, which accompanied the dead as grave gifts and which are highly prized in the market for their great artistic quality.

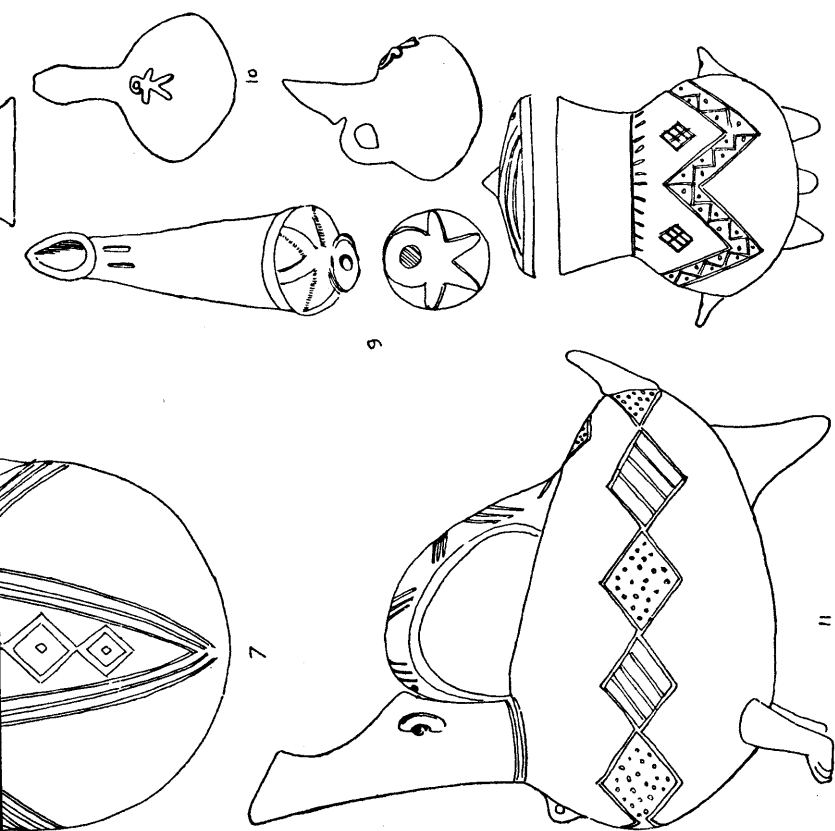
Every archaeological museum in Europe has some Yortan pottery, but to date it and provide its associations is another matter. It used to be considered contemporary with the Troy I culture, but the graves of Ovabayındır, Dorak and the appearance of Yortan pottery in later levels at Beycesultan now show conclusively that it lasted through the Troy II period as well; a span of nearly a millennium. The question is, what is early and what is late? Only thorough excavations, not typological studies, can establish this important point. To sort out the thousand or more Yortan pots, in museums and private collections throughout the world without proper provenance and association, would be an impossible task.

The Yortan cemeteries lay well away from the settlement and

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were composed of row upon row of neatly arranged jar-burials, each with a stone-marker projecting above the ground. Some cemeteries must have contained hundreds of burials, but sometimes the graves were contained in cists, made of slabs of stone as at Kusura and at Iasos (Fig.37). It is likely that the cemeteries of the Troy I culture, not yet discovered, were of similar nature. Pots, stone vessels and metal objects such as daggers, a battle axe, pins, wire bracelets, cosmetic sets, etc., were put with the dead in or outside the large jar (up to five feet or more in height), or wherever there was room. To fit into the jar or cist, the bodies were contracted and only rarely were they placed on their backs. Most of the graves contain the dead of the common people, but graves equipped with rich daggers or fine marble bowls evidently housed the remains of the more influential. Lacking the excavations of settlements, a small sounding at Ovabayindir contributes little to our knowledge of the social organisation of the Yortan people. However, their artistic sense was well-developed and their pottery, whether made for the grave or for ordinary use, is superior to that of their western neighbours, both in shape and decoration (Fig.39), where white-painted and white-filled incised fashions prevailed. Less common are plastic ribs, grooving and fluting, mainly on beak-spouted jugs and bird vases. Until recently the Yortan pottery was dominated by jugs with beak-spouts (Fig.39:4, 10), jugs with cut-away necks (Fig.39:1) and bird vases (Fig.39:11). There was also a third form of jug, tall collar-necked jars with lids (Fig.39:7) and smaller jars on three feet, also with lids (Fig.39:12). Most of the grave groups of the Yortan cemetery, at the head of the Caicus Valley, consisted of these containers with liquid and solid food for the dead. Other groups from that valley revealed the same pattern. The pottery from the Dorak graves, or the robbed-out Babaköy cemetery, showed the same apparent dearth of shapes. The cemeteries of the Balikesir Plain, however, have greatly increased this repertoire. Large and small bowls (Fig.39:2, 3, 6), cups, juglets,





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FIGURE 39 — Yortan pottery (E.B. I-II). Not to scale, and all from private collections.

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feeding bottles, miniature jars with lids and pedestals (Fig.39:8), boxes and pyxides are common there.

A number of vessels were almost certainly for ritual purposes, among these the jugs ornamented with a bull's head and two horns stuck on the body, and the pedestalled goblet with two pairs of horns in the rim and a partition in the centre of the bowl. Smaller bowls with partitions, a strange vessel with peculiar lid and, most frequent of all, phallus-like libation vessels called "horns", (Fig.39:5) were also religious objects. One of these (Fig.39:9) is ornamented with a sign in low-relief that closely resembles the Egyptian hieroglyph *ankh*, "Life", and this is found again on the body of a jug (Fig.39:10). In the later Anatolian hieroglyphs the same sign occurs with the same meaning. Its early use on funerary pottery in this culture is highly appropriate. The thinness of this pottery is often regarded as a sign that it was made for funerary use, and it must be admitted that many sherds from the settlements show a stouter fabric. Until this point can be proved by excavation, it should not be overemphasised, for the contemporary E.B.1 pottery of Southwest Anatolia was just as thin, but was used for ordinary domestic purposes.

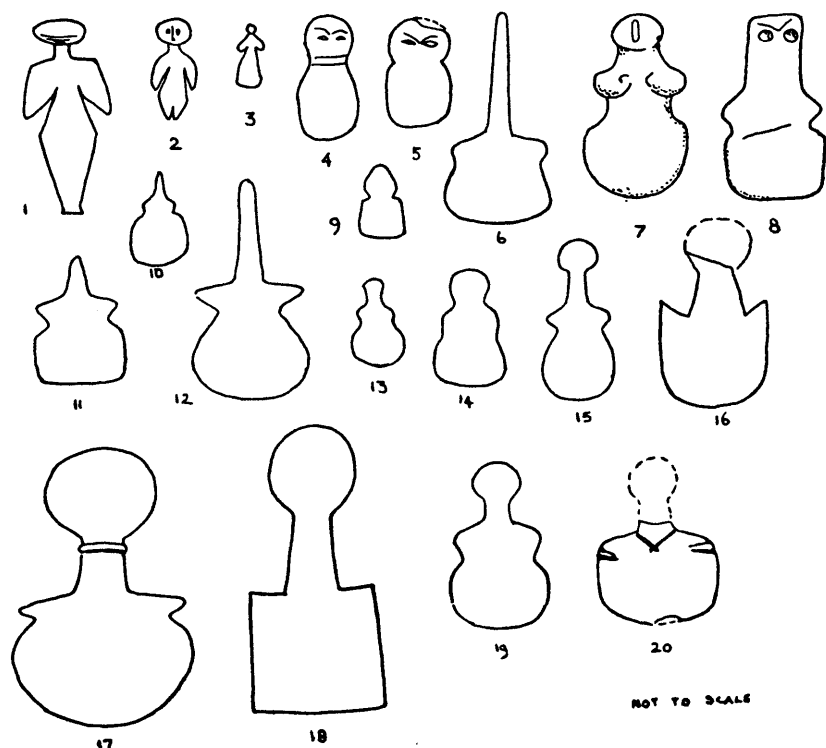
An interesting feature of this Yortan pottery is the bird vessels, and the exaggerated spouted jugs which, with their "Adam's apple", really remind one of ducks and geese, respectively. The rich bird life of the region may have inspired the artists, for the great fresh-water lakes south of the Marmora are still a paradise for the ornithologist. Perhaps these people, like the Egyptians, learned to domesticate the duck and goose, and were thus surrounded by these birds as are the present-day Anatolian villages. Naturalistic elements in Northwest Anatolian pottery are elsewhere attested; some pots have animal claws (Fig.39:11) or human feet while others have bird tails, bulls' or pigs' heads (Troy II and Bozüyük). Such tendencies are particularly marked in the metal-work from the next period in the Dorak tombs, and the Troy II "treasures".

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New finds have accentuated the differences between Troy I and Yortan cultures; the one coastal, the other inland, but both evidently descended from the same Kumtepe Ib ancestor. Further south, in the centre of ancient Lydia, on the fertile plain of Manisa-Akhisar, we find a related culture which was signs of both, and is again distinguished by its rich decoration. This is also notable at the Troy I site of Emporio in Chios. This site seems to share a fair number of Yortan elements, probably the result of its more southern position and closer trade relations with the Manisa-Akhisar culture. Conditions during this period are not yet clear south of the Izmir. Late Troy I pottery has been found in Heraion on Samos, and other indeterminate vessels come from the opposite coast. The Iasos cemetery may have continued to be used subsequently as is shown by Tomb 12 which is later than the rest. It contained several vessels showing contact with the new Syros culture of the Cyclades. Here also beak-spouted jugs with very short spouts have been found, a type which soon after turned into the so-called "duck-vase".

Quite different pottery distinguishes the E.B.I culture of southwestern Anatolia. Little is known of its architecture during this period. A shrine at Beycesultan XVII, burned and filled with objects, had a plan which is a variant on the northwestern "megaron". Miniature votive copper daggers, segmented beads, small marble bowls with rock-crystal pestles, necklaces of clay and stone beads, and a group of thirteen flat marble figurines (Fig.40:10-13) were found there, also much pottery. This pottery is some of the finest found in Anatolia (Fig.41). Handmade and exceedingly thin, in orange-red, pink, buff, grey or jet black, it shows globular shapes, long necks, long strap handles and fluted or ribbed ornaments. This was evidently inspired by metallic prototypes (cf. Fig. 48). It shows a development in shapes from its Late Chalcolithic ancestor, and the new features of beak-spouts or tubular lugs, pedestals, etc. are rare. It is possible that this reflects an earlier date.

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NOT TO SCALE

FIGURE 40 — Marble figurines from Western Anatolia (E.B. I and II periods).

1. Thermi
2. Kiliya (Gallipoli)
- 3-6. Yortan cemetery
7. Sarilar (Phrygia)
- 8-9. Kusura
- 10-13. Beycesultan, E.B. I
14. Beycesultan, E.B. II
- 15-16. Karaca Ahmet (Afyon)
17. Sancakli Bozköy (Manisa)
- 18-19. Kusura
20. Karaca H. (Çal).

(after W. LAMB, in *Archaeologia*, 86-87 (1936-37); H. BOSSERT, *Altanatolien*; S. LLOYD and J. MELLAART, *Beycesultan*, I, 1962; and *AS*, I v, 1954.)

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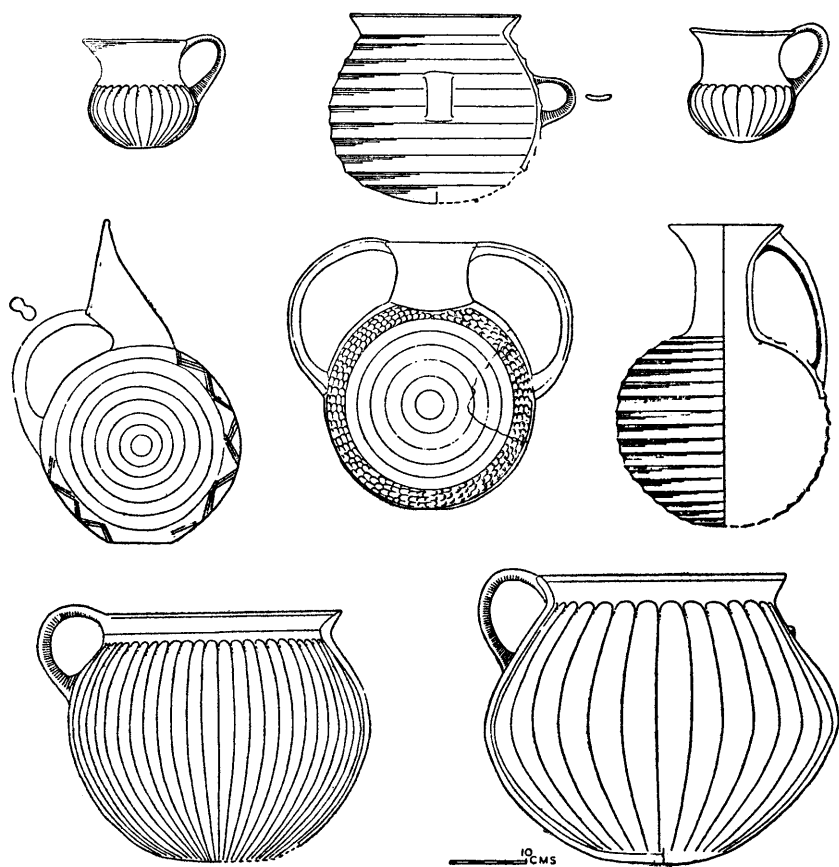


FIGURE 41 — Early Bronze Age I pottery from Beycesultan and Eskişehir (left, middle row).
(after S. LLOYD and J. MELLAART, *Beycesultan*, I 1962.)

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There are links with the Yortan culture, its northwestern neighbour, but these are not as strong as in the succeeding period. Vessels decorated with fish-scale patterns are particularly strange, unique throughout the history of Anatolian pottery (Fig. 41 centre), and remote ancestors of the pilgrim-flask. Here, also, we find miniature feeding bottles in infant burials in pots.

In the centre of highland Lycia, a contemporary culture in the plain of Elmalı is known only from surface finds and a rifled cemetery of pot-burials. The pottery is of particular interest because dark wares are extremely rare. Instead we find a prevailing salmon pink, buff and grey, decorated only with white in patterns of loops and garlands, chevrons etc. These are absent further north, but numerous beak-spout jugs, tubular lugs and other elements of the northwestern repertoire are included. It is difficult to determine how they arrived in such a remote area, unless this culture extended up to the precipitous Mediterranean coast. The Elmalı culture warrants investigations, not only for its own sake, but because it is at the moment the only culture which might show connections with the white-on-red painted wares of Early Minoan (I) Crete. The beginning of the Early Bronze Age in that island is marked among other features by the first appearance of beak-spouted jugs, which could only have derived from Anatolia. The direction from which this influence came and its strength among local adaptations would make a most interesting study.

Not enough is known of the Early Bronze Age cultures in the Phrygian area or the lowlands of the Sea of Marmora to deserve mention here. The strong cultural focus in the Konya plain is more important. This area is thickly covered with Early Bronze Age 1-2 sites, and it is from here that the Calycadnus Valley and the plain of Cilicia obtained new elements introducing the Early Bronze Age culture. Thick deposits of this culture were found in a sounding at Tarsus, showing that the E.B.1 period was of considerable length. A stratified pottery sequence and some bronze fragments

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were obtained, but little else. The architecture of the period in both plains awaits the excavator's pick. The pottery is highly distinct and unrelated to that of the surrounding cultures. Fine burnished wares with a minimum of decoration prevail (incised only in Cilicia) and in the smaller bowls the interior is often black and the outside red. White-painted ornament seems to have disappeared except as coarse stripes, sometimes combined with red on a different ware, pink or reddish in colour and unburnished. The standard shape is a tall beak-spouted jug with incised signs, possibly potters' marks, on the handle. A coarser form of this pottery, called "scored ware", was common on the Konya plain and in Cilicia, and has been found also on the Aegean coast and at Troy where it appeared during Troy I, possibly as an import. It seems clear that nobody would import this ware for its own sake so the jars must have contained something marketable, perhaps olive oil, grape syrup, wine, mustard or other condiments. Many of the bowls of this culture look like metal and the fashion for red and grey may reflect the exploitation of the silver and copper mines in the Taurus which were controlled from the plateau.

To round off this rapid survey of E.B.I cultures, it is necessary to cross the line that divides the peninsula into somewhat unequal halves. The only culture which would seem to fall in this period is the so-called "Late Chalcolithic" of Alişar (19-15) and Alaca Hüyük, in Central Anatolia within the bend of the "Red River", or Kızıl Irmak. At these sites, which became famous for their Cappadocian pottery and royal tombs, only soundings have reached the Early Bronze Age I levels, locally known as "Late Chalcolithic". The discoveries at Alaca Hüyük are still unpublished and only a few pots and sherds from Alişar have been illustrated. Most of the pottery is black-burnished, but there is also grey. Red-slipped wares were found there and some pots with a reddish interior and a black exterior, a feature shared with the East Anatolian Early Bronze Age. The predominant impression is one of Late

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Chalcolithic conservatism, in which certain bold but rather heavy shapes such as the tall fruitstands (Fig.59:2) are characteristic. These are frequently ornamented with excised decoration filled with a white-and-red substance which makes the pattern stand out on the black background. This technique was evidently borrowed from wood-carving, but the shapes themselves were boldly metallic as was the feature of cutting parts out of the hollow stem so as to leave "windows", similar to the Ghassulian and Late Chalcolithic fruitstands of Palestine. Jugs in this culture still had horizontal mouths, while the beak-spout had already appeared in the south and west. Pedestals were found on jars of tall and elegant shapes and a number of superb black and red vessels with sharp metallic profiles come from Alaca. These have fine incised lines and are fair predecessors of the remarkable metal-work of the following period. The potential of this period should not be underestimated, since it has hardly been touched by excavation. No metal or burials have been found so far in this culture, but they appeared immediately afterwards, so this may be mere coincidence.

CHAPTER XI

THE SECOND PHASE OF THE ANATOLIAN EARLY BRONZE AGE (E.B. 2) ca. 2750-2300 B.C. THE AGE OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Approximately contemporary with the Old Kingdom in Egypt, and with the Old Sumerian Period in Mesopotamia, the second phase of the Early Bronze Age marked the height of Anatolian civilisation during this period. This was the ultimate flourishing of the seed sown at the beginning of the Late Chalcolithic Period, which marked the greatest prosperity of Early Bronze Age Byblos and of the Khirbet Kerak culture of Syria and Palestine. The rich tombs of eastern and southern Crete, the finest Cycladic culture and the first manifestation of Early Bronze Age cultures in mainland Greece and Cyprus appeared at this time. Trade routes opened in the Black Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean; and Anatolian and Cycladic ships may even have passed Gibraltar, as certain new finds from the Iberian Peninsula seem to indicate (Map XI).

The entire Near East went through a period of great prosperity, and though empires did not yet exist, there is ample evidence in the form of royal tombs, treasures and great cities to show that even in Anatolia and Greece kingdoms were well established.

The transition from E.B.1 to E.B.2 appears to have been peaceful in most of Anatolia except in the west. It is here that a number of events can be traced that seem to be interrelated. There was, first of all, the sudden end of the Troy I culture, both on the

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mainland and in the islands. The introduction of northwest Anatolian pottery all over southwestern Anatolia and the introduction of Early Helladic I pottery in Greece via the Cyclades seem to have been connected.

The last phase of Troy I ended in destruction, and though it was soon rebuilt the first settlement of Troy IIa was also burned. From level IIb onwards we see a gradual change of culture, especially in the pottery. Wheelmade plain wares appeared for the first time outside Cilicia, but most of the finer ware with new shapes, such as the two-handled drinking cup or *depas* (Fig.51:3, 9), were red-slipped and burnished. The tubular lugs on bowls and the dark wares of Troy I (and IIa) disappeared entirely and from this fact other sites of the culture can be dated. At Poliochni the change came after level IV, early in Troy II, and the desertion of Thermi dates from the same period. Emporio on Chios was burned and the same changes occurred here and at Heraion on Samos.

The almost wholesale desertion of the coast from Troy to Izmir is far more eloquent, a desertion shared by the Caicus Valley and the island of Lesbos opposite. Comparing fifty settlements with Troy I remains, there are at most a dozen known to contain Troy II pottery (cf. Maps VIII and IX). The populace presumably fled coastwards where coastal elements made their appearance in the E.B.2 pottery of the Manisa-Akhisar plain. The Yortan area appears to have been unaffected by these disturbances as far as can now be seen. However fertile, the Manisa plain could probably not support so many refugees; and it is therefore likely that many travelled up the Hermus and Cogamus valleys to the east. It is here, on the edge of the plateau, that traces of these refugees have been found in the form of numerous settlements in the Usak region and, after destruction by fire, at Beycesultan itself.

This movement did not stop in the Upper Maeander Valley; refugees also appeared in the area south of Denizli, introducing the same northwest Anatolian wares, the rich use of white paint, Yortan

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types and grooved decoration. All of these are similar to the wares in the Manisa plain. As a result of this immigration, the number of sites in southwestern Anatolia naturally increased.

The typical red-slipped ware of Early Helladic I which introduced the Early Bronze Age in Greece is generally thought to come from the east, that is, Anatolia. Until recently too little was known about the country to lend substance to this reasonable claim. Some of the earliest Early Helladic I pottery from Eutresis in Boeotia has recently been dated by radio-carbon to ca. 2670 B.C., which suggests that the period may have begun ca. 2700 B.C. Rounded bowls, small jugs and jars were characteristic, but there were no beak-spouts. Decorative lugs were common and also vertical-ribbed jars. All these are types that can be matched either in the E.B. I pottery of S.W. Anatolia or in the very first phase of the next period, around 2750 B.C. This was roughly at the time of the disturbances to which we have already referred. Perhaps elements from the Anatolian southwest made their way down the Maeander Valley to the coast and from there across the Aegean to found new settlements abroad. Their first settlements on the mainland of Greece are found on the east coast or in those plains that are easily accessible from the east: Boeotia and Thessaly. Further movement westward did not occur until the next (E.H. II) period, when either land-hunger or the arrival of more newcomers made expansion imperative.

The cause of these migrations and the scare in the northern Aegean which precipitated these events remain a mystery. The enemy who appeared at this time must have come from the sea, for both the Anatolian mainland and the islands felt its force. Effects of this catastrophe were so far-reaching that they could not have been simple acts of piracy or brigandage. In view of similar occurrences at the end of the next period, ca. 2300 B.C., there was probably an inroad of barbarians from the north (i.e. the Balkans) that caused this temporary disruption. No archaeological material gives any clue to their identity, but since the barbarians usually

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assumed the superior culture of their subjects, a new dynasty or upper class is hard to distinguish in the absence of literary evidence. The marks of vigorous dynasts are soon shown in the great fortresses that rose, one after another, on the windswept side of the royal castle of Troy, mistress of the Straits and guardian of the land-route leading from Anatolia into Europe. From the heights above Troy on the foothills of Mt. Ida the entire northern Aegean is visible (Fig.42) on a clear day. This easily explains the spread of Trojan trade.

It seems likely that Troy was the royal fortress of a kingdom that extended over the Troad, the plain of Edremit, the Gallipoli peninsula and the islands of Tenedos, Imbros and Lemnos. Here the site of Poliochni is nestled in a fine bay on the eastern side of the island and this was probably the main city of the kingdom.

The great fortress of Troy IIc (Fig.43) is probably the best known of the eleven building phases of Troy II; here it is shown tentatively restored. A little over a hundred metres in diameter, it was surrounded by powerful stone-built walls with a pronounced batter, topped by a vertical mud-brick wall. Two main gates led into the fort and the left (southwest) gate was approached by a magnificent stone ramp. This gave access to a group of buildings of secondary nature, behind which was a small postern gate. The southeast gate was evidently the ceremonial one and led across an open area to a small gate in the colonnaded courtyard, in front of the main buildings. These consisted of an enormous "megaron", thirty-five metres long, which was the great hall of the palace, flanked by two similar buildings with two rooms each behind a porch. In the centre of the great hall was a raised circular hearth. A similar set of rooms, the "eastern complex", appears to date from a slightly earlier phase, but remained in use with possible alterations. A smaller building, IIF, may have served a different purpose and could have been a shrine; if so it differed considerably from contemporary temples (up to 17.5 metres long) at Beycesultan

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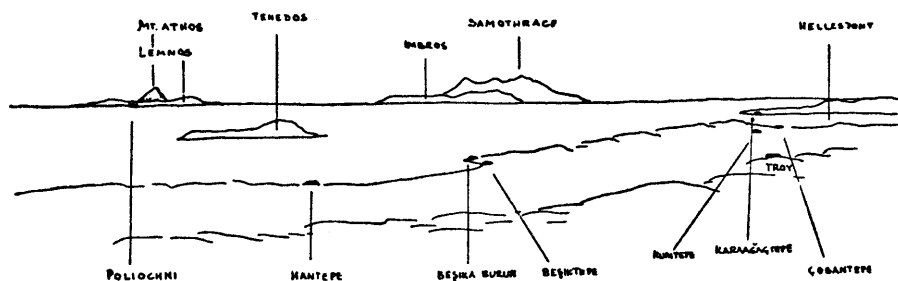


FIGURE 42 — Sketch of the west coast of the Troad and the offshore islands with early sites.

in southwest Anatolia. These were built on the “megaron” plan and show elaborate ritual furnishing.

At Beycesultan, temples were built in pairs, it is thought for the cult of a female and a male deity, evidently the Great Goddess and her son. Entering the shrine from the open courtyard in front of the portico, a door led into the main room facing an elaborate construction of brick and plaster (Fig.44 male shrine of Beycesultan XIV). This consisted of two stelae with containers behind them, one for solid, the second for liquid offerings. In front of the gap between the stelae stood a pair of “horns of consecration” with one or two “magic” circles in front. In the “male” shrines a post or pillar (possibly the symbol of the god) stood on the outer ring on the same axis. In the “female” shrines a raised blood-altar with provision for draining off the blood, stood against the left wall. It is thought that offerings were brought by the worshippers who entered the circles and passed the offerings to a priest or priestess over the horns and between the stelae to be deposited in the bins behind them.

A screen of columns and matting, or textiles, partly hid the back of the room which was used for storage of offerings. In the back wall a door gave access to a further room for the use of the priest or priestess. The floors of these buildings were covered with

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felt and matting and the "altar" and lower part of the walls were painted a greyish blue. There does not appear to have been any other decoration. Grain-bins filled with wheat and barley were placed on the side of the room near the portico, and ovens for baking bread have been found in the courtyards. No cult statues were discovered, but one or two marble figurines came from the "female shrines". As far as we can see, the offerings consisted of food and drink — wheat, barley, bitter vetch, peas, lentils, and bunches of grapes, brought in pottery containers to be left on the floor of the building. The blood-altars in the "female" shrines suggest the sacrifice of small animals, perhaps kids, lambs or birds, but no bones have survived. The Beycesultan temples started in the E.B.I Period and continued to be built on the same site during the next period, showing that the cult did not suffer any interruption after the destruction by the newcomers from the north. As they are the only known Anatolian temples dating from the Early Bronze Age, their evidence is unique and extremely valuable. It is unfortunate that so little is known of the settlements to which they belonged.

Fortunately, part of the city-plan of Poliochni has been published (Fig. 45) so that we have a vivid glimpse of town life of this period. The wealthy citizens of Poliochni, probably merchants, lived in spacious houses, often of some complexity, which were arranged in blocks on either side of a main street. This was some two hundred metres long and ran from north to south, forming the main artery of the city. Other streets intersected this main thoroughfare at right angles, and where they met small squares with stone-lined wells and drains provided the public water supply. In the excavated area, no trace of a palace has come to light, but an isolated building of "megaron" plan stood in the northern square. This may have been the town-hall or court of assizes of this settlement. In a doorless room nearby two skeletons were found, suggesting that this may have been the prison of Poliochni.

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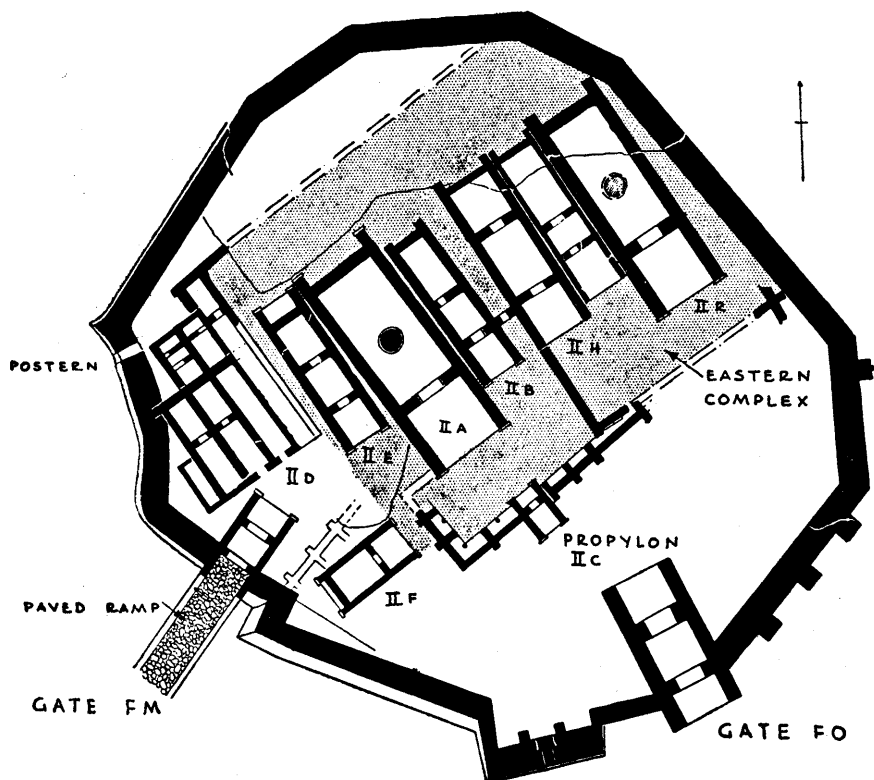


FIGURE 43 — The Fortress and palace of Troy IIc (restored by J.M.).
(after AS, IX, 1959.)

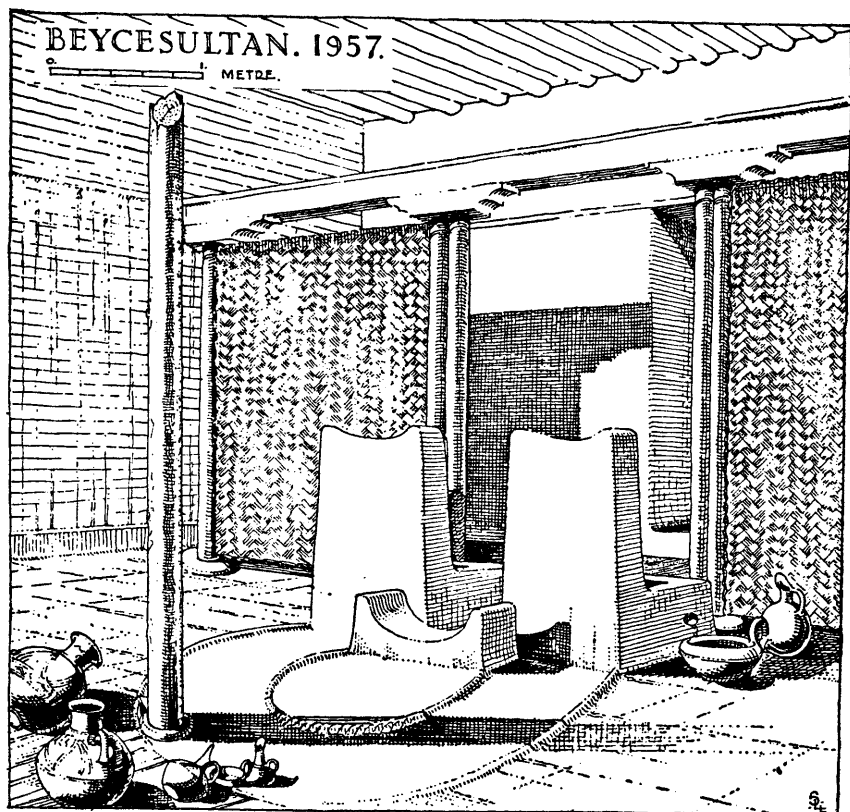


FIGURE 44 — Reconstruction of the main room of the “male” temple of Beycesultan XIV.
(after S. LLOYD, in *AS*, VIII, 1958.)

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The settlement was originally laid out on a more rectangular plan than is shown here. As time went on, large rooms were divided up, streets were blocked by additional rooms and smaller houses encroached on the main squares. The site became a warren of small rooms, similar to that of Troy IIg where the same process was repeated.

At Poliochni only the poorest houses are of the "megaron" plan, consisting of only a hall and porch. Nearly every sizeable house contained this unit as its core, enlarged by a courtyard in front and at least one row of secondary rooms along the side. Party-walls were common, an advancement of the free-standing buildings of earlier times, regularly used at Troy. These walls may have been devised for greater protection in the earthquake-ridden area. The use of a wooden framework for the brick superstructure of buildings, which first appears in the great Hall of Troy IIc and at Heraion on Samos, may have been developed for the same purpose — preventing immediate collapse during earth tremors.

The "hall and porch" type of building is the most characteristic feature of west Anatolian architecture during the entire Early Bronze Age, while different forms of houses are found at Tarsus in the E.B.2 Period (Fig.46). These seem to have been arranged in rows along streets in a tidy pattern. Pilasters and buttresses are a feature of these houses which vary slightly in plan. Some have an open portico facing the street, while others use the portico or a narrow ante-room as an entrance. The main room of most houses contained an elaborately constructed hearth. This was either topped by two bricks or by a horn-shaped structure, reminiscent of the horns of consecration in the Beycesultan shrines. Next to the hearth there frequently appears a sort of backed armchair and footstool, made of brick. Sometimes a screen of brick shelters the hearth and chair from draughts through the doorway. Square windows have been preserved intact. Doorways lead into the back rooms, which often contained a bench; and there are traces of an upper storey

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over the back rooms, which was approached by brick or wooden steps, or by a ladder from the main room.

One of these buildings is regarded by the excavators as a tavern because of finds within the building and the cosy backroom with benches on all sides. Somewhat later in the period, ca. 2600 B.C., many of the houses of this settlement were burnt, demolished and filled-in to make space for a fortification wall, which was apparently built in a hurry. It consisted of short stretches of mud-brick walls with an L-shaped gate approached by a long ramp leading up to the southern side of the mound. Here we find the use of wooden beams as a framework for mud-brick construction as well as in the foundations of the gate. These structures at Tarsus give a tantalising glimpse of south Anatolian architecture. One can hope that more will be found, both here and in the Konya plain where great cities with citadels await future excavation. The violence of the conflagration, seen at many of the latter sites, shows that wood must have been liberally used in the mudbrick walls which, alone, are not easily inflammable.

The buildings of central Anatolia during this period are not well known. Houses are neatly built of mudbrick on stone foundations, with rectangular plans. Several rooms are stuck against each other, quite different from the typical hall and porch type of the west. It is not known how they were grouped, for most excavations have been restricted in size. However, at the large scale excavation of Alaca Hüyük, the burnt building-level V, which overlies the graves according to the plans, is so badly preserved that it contributes nothing to town-planning. Archaeologists are eagerly watching the excavations of the Kültepe city-mound to see if this will reveal a well-preserved urban plan. From Alişar and Karaoğlan, south of Ankara, defensive walls were almost the only feature of the period. Only at Ahlitlibel, which stands on the wind-swept ridge above Ankara, commanding the north-south trade route, has the entire fort been excavated. This measures 40 by 30 metres, but

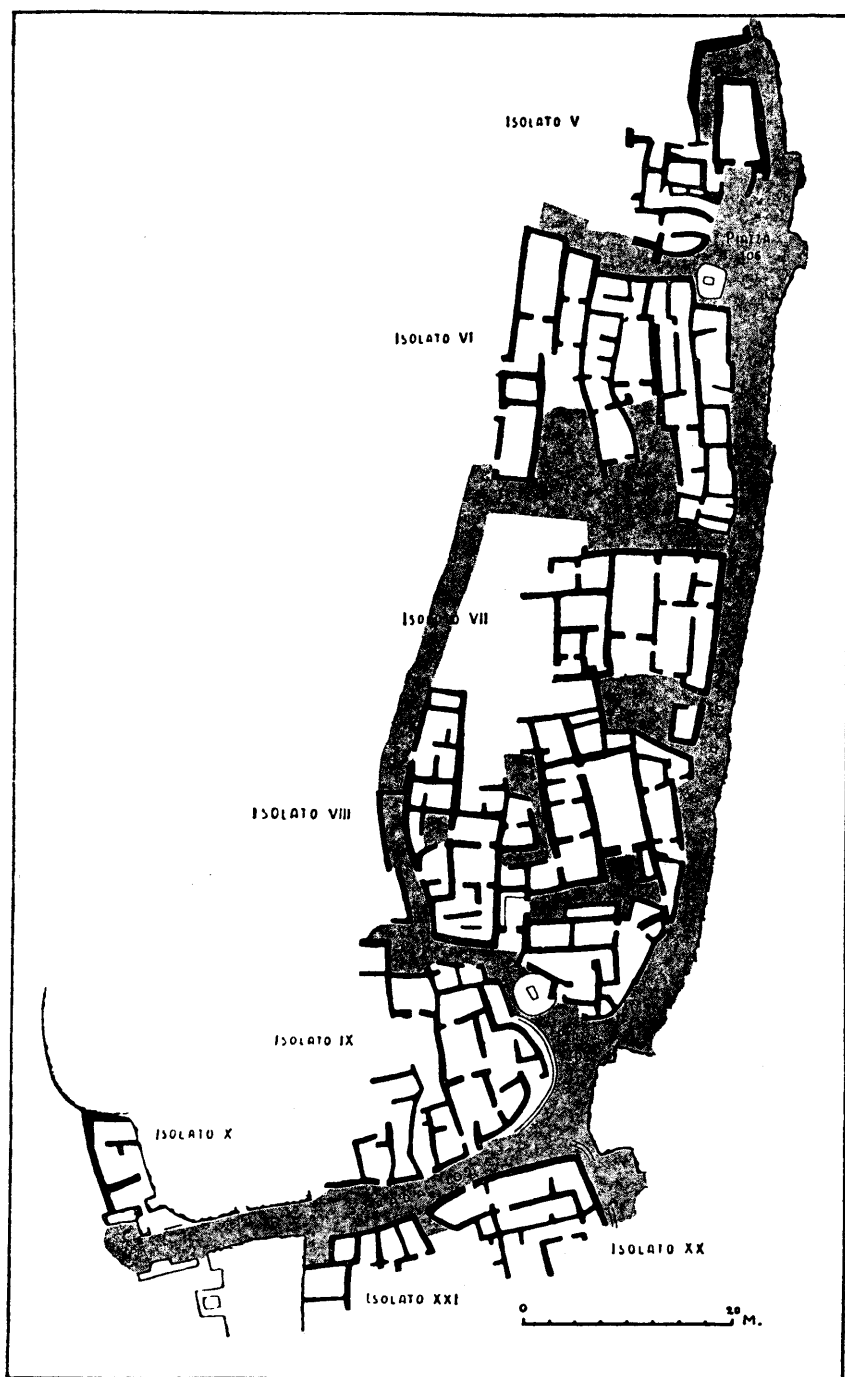


FIGURE 45 — Part of the city plan of Poliochni V (end of Troy II period).
(after L.B. BREA, in *Bulletino d'Arte*, 1957.)

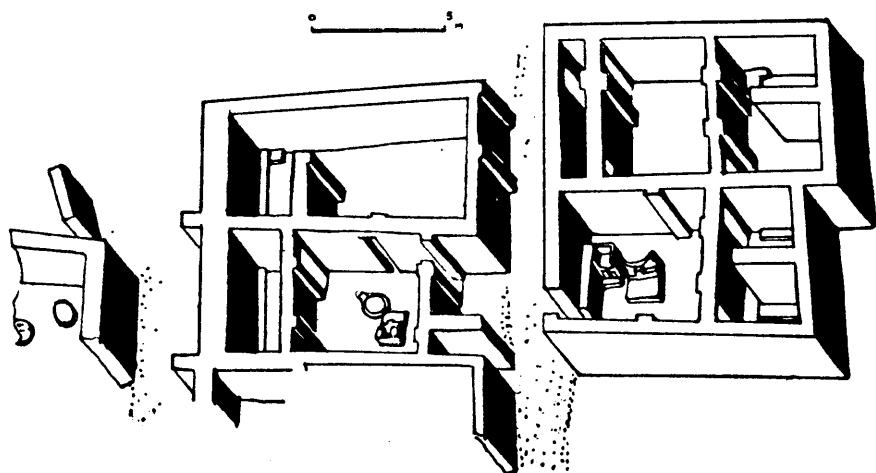


FIGURE 46 — Houses of the early E.B. II period at Tarsus.
(after H. GOLDMAN, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus, II*, 1956.)

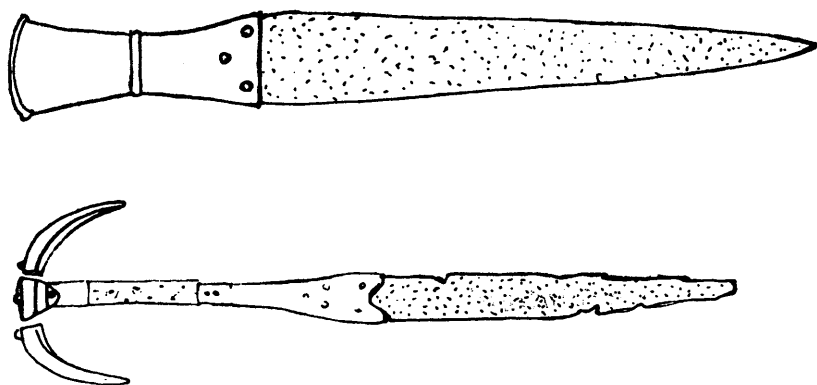


FIGURE 47 — Two iron daggers with gold plated handles from Alaca Hüyük.
(after H.Z. KOŞAY, *Alacahöyük kazisi*, Ankara, 1951.)

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only the basement plan is preserved, and it would be premature to attempt the reconstruction of an upper storey from the knowledge at hand.

Further north at Düdartepe, on the Black Sea coast, and at most sites in this forested area, the local form of building required large amounts of timber, laths and plaster. Such buildings leave the excavator only post-holes and burnt pieces of roof and daub, whether they were once hovels or palaces. Building remains are often a poor guide to the real achievement of a culture. This is particularly true where excavations are incomplete, as in Central and Pontic Anatolia. The metallurgic wealth, artistic sense and technological development attested by the royal graves at Alaca Hüyük, Mahmatlar and Horoztepe has as yet no parallel in the architectural remains.

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

There was no change in burial customs during this period in Anatolia. Extramural burials continued in the west and intramural burials in the centre and east. Nothing is known about graves in the plains of Konya or Cilicia. At Tekkeköy, east of Samsun on the Pontic coast, a series of burials in several layers was rich in offerings, a novelty. The normal form of burial was in pots or cists, the latter stone-built or constructed of wood, and sometimes plain graves were dug in the earth without any lining. For the first time in Anatolian prehistory we have evidence of royal tombs. Thirteen were found at the site of Alaca Hüyük, possibly in an extramural cemetery, or at least in an open space not far from the edge of the mound. Two royal tombs at Dorak belonged to the Yortan culture. They rested on a hill overlooking the island-studded Lake of Apolyont, a scenic region south of the Sea of Marmora. One more "royal" grave has been found near Troy, belonging to Troy II culture. Other rich, but evidently not royal tombs, were found at Ovabayindir in the plain of Balıkesir (Yortan culture), in the

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fortress of Ahlitlibel near Ankara and the above-mentioned site of Tekkeköy on the Black Sea coast. Many commoners' graves have been found throughout the west and north, but like many of the richer tombs they had been discovered and robbed by peasants.

While the kings of Egypt built pyramid tombs and those of Sumer constructed the great death-pits of Ur, the Anatolian royal tombs differed from those of their subjects only in size and contents, and were often nearly as rich as their southern contemporaries.

The tombs themselves are exceedingly simple; the Dorak cists measured 1.8 by .83 and 3.1 by 2 metres. The Alaca Hüyük tombs, dug into the soil and occasionally lined with stone, were much larger, about 3.5 metres wide and up to six or eight metres in length. The Dorak cists were covered with stone slabs, as were the Iasos cists. The Alaca Hüyük tombs contained wooden beams on which were ranged rows of ox heads and feet, the remains of a funerary feast. In these tombs the corpse occupied the northwest corner of the grave and was buried in a contracted position lying on its right side, head towards the west and facing south. In the Dorak tombs, the dead lay either extended on their backs (as at Tekkeköy) or in a crouched position on their right sides (Pl. XVII) with the heads oriented to the east. This followed the normal Yortan practice. The king in tomb I lay on a decayed woollen kilim rug (Pl. XVIIIb), the king and queen in tomb II on rush matting. Textiles have also been found in a few pot and cist graves at Alişar (level 14), together with reed matting and animal skin, and at Tekkeköy. In the damp graves at Alaca Hüyük, these materials have perished along with the wooden furniture, of which only the copper-sheathed legs remain. Nothing remains of the wood of an armchair or throne, overlaid with gold, which was undoubtedly sent to the ruler buried in tomb I at Dorak. It bears the name and titles, in hieroglyphs, of the Egyptian pharaoh Sahure, the second king of the Fifth Dynasty (ca. 2494-2345 B.C.). The great empty areas in the Alaca Hüyük tombs suggest massive deposits of

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perishable gifts of which no trace remains. A number of gold and silver casings and other objects, however, have been found in each tomb, but no really satisfactory explanation has yet been offered for these.

The interpretation of these objects depends upon the way in which one imagines the ruler was conveyed to the tomb. Since there is no evidence of a coffin, the corpse must have been placed on a bier, and the ribbed casings may have covered the four handles. They are usually described as covering the posts of a canopy or baldaquin, which is certainly a possibility. It is obviously based on the canopy suggested by the excavator of the great tomb at Mai-kop, north of the Caucasus, which is roughly the same date, i.e. somewhere between the 24th and 22nd century B.C. Equally characteristic of these tombs are the magnificent statues of bulls and stags in bronze and frequently plated or inlaid with silver, gold or electrum (Pl. XIX, XX). These figures stand on very thick, heavy, spurred tangs, which were presumably fixed in a slot in a wooden beam or pole. The thickness and heaviness of the tang seems to preclude the possibility that they were carried on the end of a pole as standards or totems. A single bull or stag figure is found in each tomb, but the number of "standards or sun-discs" (Pl. XXI) varies from six in grave D to only one in grave H, and they are often placed in a row before the dead. Most of these standards are round, semi-circular and rhomboid in shape and are ornamented with geometric patterns in open-work. Frequently they have projections and pendants worked in the same way, which bang against it when moved, making a metallic sound. Another group consists of open circles, fashioned in different ways, out of which appears the fully plastic figure of a wild ass (Pl. XXIIb), a stag between two bulls (Pl. XXIIa) or a stag flanked by two leopards. Buds and birds sometimes are placed on the edge of the discs and many are decorated with a pair of bull's horns. All have broad tangs of various kinds for attachment.

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These objects are undoubtedly of a religious nature; the bull and stag symbolise fertility, domesticated and wild, and are sacred to the "Weather God of Hatti" and the "Protective Deity" (both male) in the Hattic and, subsequently, in the Hittite pantheon. Leopards and birds, on the other hand, are associated with the "Great Goddess", the supreme deity of Anatolia. It is surprising to find that she herself does not appear among the "standards", unless she is represented by a semicircular disc with openwork geometric decoration, bearing one or more heads on top. The projecting heads are similar to the more naturalistic representations of the goddess in the next period (Fig. 57) from Kültepe, which have circular bodies with one or more heads. The few figurines from the Alaca Hüyük tombs, found only in queens' graves, are less schematic than the standards, though the heads are still stylised and triangular. The interpretation of these "standards" as sun discs seems far-fetched and is not supported by any other evidence from Early Bronze Age Anatolia. As with the animal statues, the massive tangs suggest that they were fastened onto something more solid than poles and therefore their interpretation as standards is somewhat unconvincing. The larger copper or bronze hooks frequently found with them offer no explanation as to how they were used. Some scholars regard these as still other ritual objects. The rest of the finds from the Alaca Hüyük graves are easily explained as personal possessions of the dead or as funerary offerings containing food and drink.

The strange and undoubtedly ritual objects described above, lend a special character to the Alaca graves. The archaeologist wonders why religious objects of this nature should be buried with the dead, and why only here. Normally all objects found in graves were the personal property of the person interred. They included his weapons, trinkets, wives, concubines, slaves, favourite dogs, horses, etc. The Alaca burial rite might be the exception. Many scholars have thought thus and attempted to explain it by

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assuming these rulers to be a foreign dynasty with affinities in the steppe territories, north of the Caucasus and the Black Sea. The round skulls of the ruling class buried in the Alaca graves suggest a strain different from that of the local long-headed population. Alaca produces a strong case for brachycephaly, but round-headed elements are attested in Anatolia since the Early Neolithic Period among a predominantly long-headed population, which since the Neolithic Period has shown two major strains: Eurafrian and proto-Mediterranean man. The Alaca Hüyük rulers may have been a foreign element there, but that does not necessarily imply that they came from the Pontic steppe or that they spoke an Indo-European language.

The similarities between the Alaca Hüyük tombs and those of the Pontic steppe, such as the tomb at Maikop, are probably not due to the migration of northern elements into Anatolia. Northern barbarians presumably copied the funerary ritual of the Pontic and Central Anatolian rulers during the Early Bronze Age, a contact stimulated by trade.

The Alaca tombs are most likely those of local rulers. The presence of the many religious emblems can be explained in this way, and it seems safe to assume that they were part of the decoration of some object belonging to the buried rulers. There are numerous parallels between the Late Bronze Age chieftain burials from Lechashen, near Ordaklu on Lake Sevan, and those of Alaca, a thousand years earlier. Thus the rich religious paraphernalia of the Alaca tombs may have adorned ox-drawn wooden carts on which the priest-kings (and queens) were conveyed to their graves. As the property of the ruler, the cart could then have been dismantled to fit into the shallow grave. All the animals which served to draw the cart during the ruler's life were then sacrificed and their inedible parts (heads and hoofs) arranged on the log roof of the tomb. Such bullock-drawn carts, with solid wheels and a square or rectangular body, are still a familiar feature of this region. With a

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bull or stag statue perched high on the pole of the cart and "sun discs" on the yokes of the bullocks, or decorating front and side of the cart, and a driver goading the beasts with the copper-pointed goads so common in the tombs, the cumbersome vehicle may be pictured carrying a king stretched on a bier in full panoply, protected by the emblems of the Great Goddess, her Son and other deities, on his last journey.

The religious objects are beyond any doubt the most spectacular and, technically, the most advanced products of the Alaca metal workshops. Many of the other funerary offerings are of great beauty and interest, particularly three small bronze statues, well modelled and cast in the round. Two iron daggers (Fig.47) with gold-plated handles, and others, perhaps inspired by Mesopotamian forerunners in the royal graves at Ur, are handsomely made, as are the first great swords and fine maces with gold plated handles. Crowns of sheet gold with open-work patterns have been found, as well as 8-shaped brooches, a great variety of pins, gold bracelets, silver and bronze combs, bronze mirrors and thousands of gold beads of many shapes. These formed necklaces and were often combined with pendants of stones, and faience, which are among the more outstanding articles of personal use and are most plentiful in the women's graves. However, side by side with exquisite craftsmanship, there are many pieces carelessly fashioned out of sheet-gold and pierced for sewing onto garments. These may have been intended only for use in the grave. There is also a unique collection of lavishly decorated vessels made of copper, bronze, electrum, silver and gold (Fig.48). Some of these are evidently of local workmanship, but many show their foreign origin by shape and decoration. In Anatolia such vessels were widely copied in pottery (cf. Fig. 52) but metal vessels were far more common than pottery in the Alaca tombs. The latter was, on the whole, undistinguished, as were the wares from the settlement. Remnants of spouted vessels with basket handles are most interesting. They were of a northwest Anatolian

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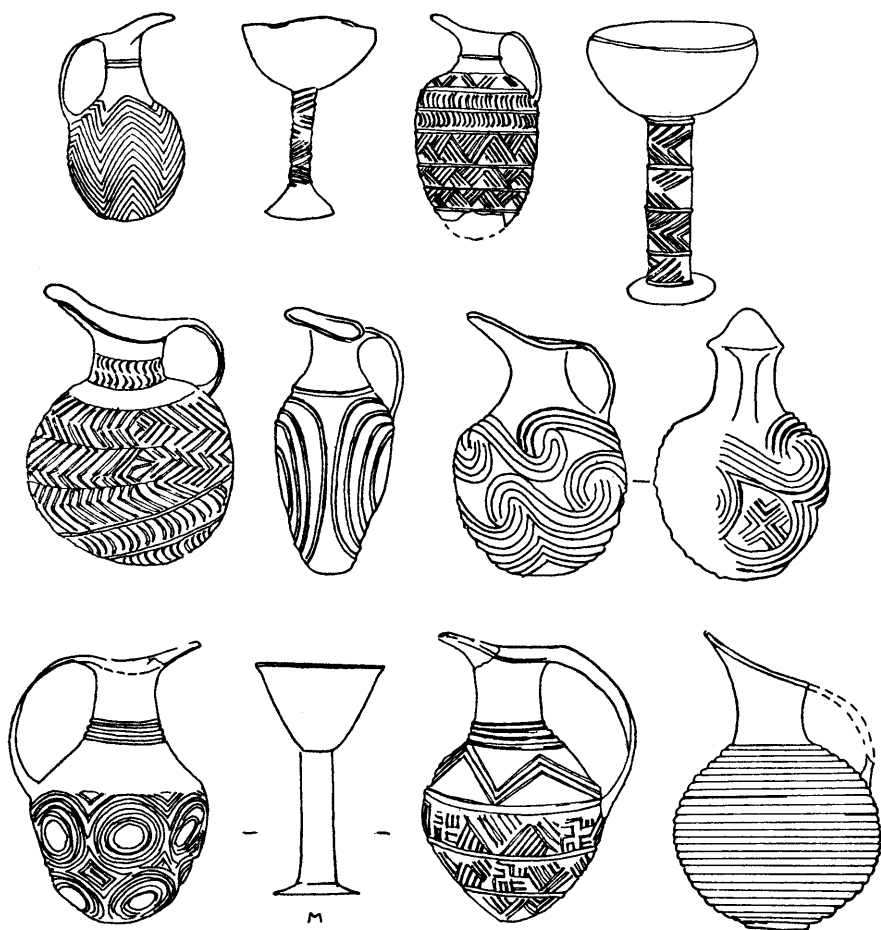


FIGURE 48 — Gold and silver vessels from the Royal tombs of Alaca and Mahmatlar.

(after H.Z. KOŞAY, in *Belleten*, 55 and *Alacahöyük kazisi*, 1951; *Ausgrabungen von Alaca Hüyük* (1944) and R.O. ARİK, *Les fouilles d'Alaca Höyük*, Ankara, 1937. *Bull. Metrop. Mus. of Arts*, 1957.)

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type (see Fig.59:8), but locally copied, and one silver specimen is lavishly decorated with embossed snakes.

The armoury of the Alaca Hüyük rulers was well equipped with swords and daggers. It contained maces, spears with slotted blades of West Anatolian type and a silver battle-axe with a gold-plated handle, not unlike the stone axes from Troy and Dorak (Pl. XXIIa), evidently a ceremonial weapon. No bows and arrows, nor any objects of perishable materials, such as shields, scabbards, belts, etc., have hitherto been found.

An entire publication could scarcely do justice to the royal cemetery at Alaca Hüyük. These few pages merely serve to emphasize its extraordinary interest and importance. The discovery of royal tombs can completely change previous conceptions of a culture.

The products of the northwest Anatolian metal workshops are fairly well-known from the finds in the Dorak tombs (which belong to the Yortan culture), a robbed-out tomb in the Troad and the ruins of Troy II and Poliochni V. Although there are marked differences between the coastal and inland provinces, they are less pronounced in weapons and metal vessels than in pottery which has a much narrower range and distribution. The strongest contrast is that between central and northwestern Anatolia. In the northwest there is no trace of the animal statue, the disc, or any of the other specialised ritual equipment found at Alaca Hüyük, or later at Mahmatlar and Horoztepe. All objects buried with the dead were personal possessions and these tell nothing of the local cult. Weapons and jewellery are commonly found with vessels of precious metal. The quality of the jewellery and the ornamentation of the weapons has no parallels at Alaca Hüyük. The use of semi-precious stones, not uncommon at Alaca, reaches a higher development in the west. Stones are often combined with granulation and filigree-work which lend the jewellery a refined touch missing at Alaca. Animals are freely used in the ornamentation; birds appear

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on pins (Fig.49) singly or in pairs, as a pendant (Fig.49) or as gold and silver vases. Swords and daggers have hilts embellished with rock-crystal and obsidian, or with paired lion and leopard heads of ivory (Pl. XXIIb). A small silver lion was found at Poliochni, wild asses at Dorak; and a dagger from Troy is surmounted by a realistically modelled bull. The dolphin was a popular motif at Dorak, south of the Sea of Marmora, which was once a favourite haunt of this intelligent and playful animal. Other motifs were derived from nature: rosettes, petalled flowers and double spirals like the curling petals of iris and lily were favourite motifs on bracelets, pins, basket-shaped earrings, and even on the hilts of swords and daggers. The human figure was rarely used, and then always in a schematized form, reminiscent of the marble idols from western Anatolia (Fig.40) or of the discs with heads and geometric ornament from Alaca. Necklaces of gold double-spiral beads were common and at Poliochni twenty-five different types of gold beads were found. Gold rosettes were sewed onto clothing, which was then fastened by pins or by a metal-plated belt. Women wore aprons over flounced dresses. Nothing is known of male attire, except what can be gathered from a rough graffito of a man from Troy, helmeted, belted and armed with a sword hanging from a bandolier. A bronze belt was discovered in the Troadic tomb.

Cosmetics were kept in small silver tubes or in pottery and stone vessels. Silver mirrors and ivory combs were used by the ladies of the royal house. Diadems of leaves or plain circlets alternate with what looks like either a high tiara or a hat of the type still worn by peasant women in Anatolia today.

The rulers' weapons were sumptuous and many of the battle-axes and sceptres had heads of semi-precious stone, and gold or silver-covered handles. The great iron sword found at Dorak can only have been used on state occasions. An astounding variety of rich swords and daggers has been unearthed at this site, but at Troy only the pommels in semi-precious stone have survived. Most of

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these are made of copper and bronze, but there are a few silver daggers (Pl. XXIIb), just as at Alaca, or in the Aegean. The hilts were of wood covered with sheet metal. Besides swords, daggers and battle-axes, there are spears, occasionally made of silver, but this weapon was only fully developed in the following period. No traces have been found of helmets or shields, but they must have existed.

In western Anatolia there is also a wealth of metal vessels in copper, gold, silver and electrum. Most of these are different in both shape and decoration from those found at Alaca. From the tomb in the Troad came the fragments of five bronze pans (Fig. 50:1) which are similar to one bronze and one silver example from Troy IIg (Fig.50:2). A silver bowl from the same place is also identical with those at Troy and Dorak. Six spouted vessels with volutes on the rim, and a basket handle (Fig.59:8) had been deposited in the Troad tomb. This type was also known at Troy II and Alaca, and was widely imitated in pottery throughout western Anatolia (Fig.59:7)

The only other vessel that might have originated there is a silver *depas*, a kind of cup or bowl, usually with two handles, now in the British Museum. At Troy itself, this vessel has only been found in pottery, which is undoubtedly a coincidence, since it almost certainly originated here (Fig.51:9). In its pottery version, the *depas* was exported far and wide, reaching Poliochni (Fig.51:3), Bağdere in Bulgaria (Fig.51:6), the Cyclades and Greece. A silver *depas* from Dorak (Fig.51:10) resembles the grey pottery ones from Bozüyük, and an example in gold, from the same place, has pottery parallels near Afyon and at Tarsus. The more elaborate versions have all been found inland and are presumably copies of metal vessels. In Samos (Fig. 51:4,2), at Tarsus and in central Anatolia (Fig.51:5, 7), less attractive forms have been found and other late examples show local aberrations (Fig. 51:8 from Troy) or painted designs (Fig.51:1 from Beycesultan). The wide distribution of this

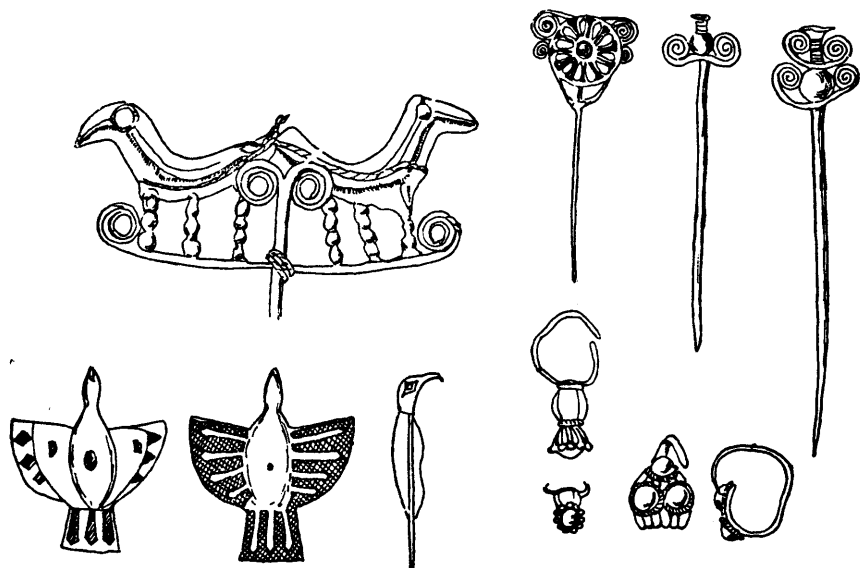


FIGURE 49 — Gold jewellery from the Troy II culture. Pins, top row, left Poliochni V (Lemnos), others from Troy. Bottom: bird from Troy, earrings from Poliochni. (after H. SCHLIEMANN. *Ilios*, 1890 and L.B. BREA, in *Bulletino d'Arte*, 1957.)

shape and its many varieties certify its popularity which lasted from Troy IIc until the end of Troy V, i.e. half a millennium or more. It was without doubt a drinking cup with two handles for passing around, but it is not known whether the drink was wine or beer.

Troy produced many other metal vessels; a fine sauce-boat, two tall pedestalled vessels with cylindrical necks; a series of fluted electrum cups (also found at Dorak); a silver vase with tubular vertical lugs on a pedestal base and more. None of these gold, electrum or silver vessels showed much decoration, contrasting with those from Dorak, which are richly ornamented. Some are pure Yortan shapes (Fig.39) like the silver bowls, the gold jug with cut-away neck and the bird-vessels. Others are probably imports from neighbouring areas, such as the cup with high loop-handle, the

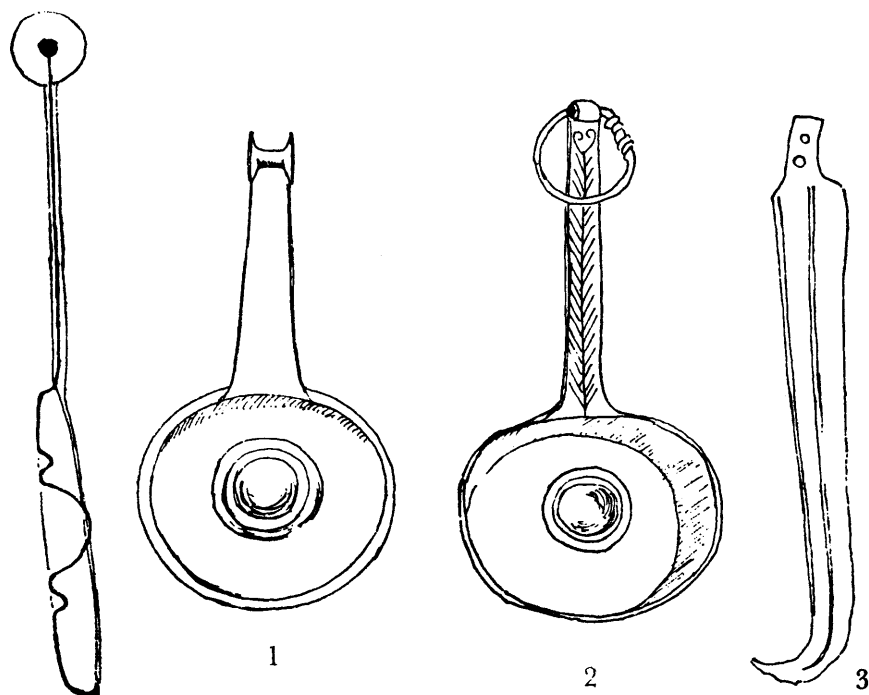


FIGURE 50 — Bronze and silver pans from the Troad and Troy II and bronze knife from Denizli area.
(after K. BITTEL, in *JDAI*, 1959, *Ilios*, and T. ÖZGÜÇ, *Kultepe-Kanesh*, Ankara, 1959.)

small silver juglet and the diagonally fluted jar which have their pottery counterparts in north or southwest Anatolia. In the southwest the pottery is blatantly metallic in inspiration during this period (Fig.52), with its grooved and fluted ornament and its silvery grey, golden buff and coppery red colours.

With the Beycesultan cemeteries unknown, not a single metal vessel has yet been discovered in this rich and prominent area. It is perfectly clear that during the Early Bronze Age nearly all pottery shapes in Anatolia were either inspired by metal prototypes or copied in metal, showing the country must have been rich in metal products.

TRADE. (Map XI)

The extraordinary degree of development and prosperity in this period was evidently not only based on full-scale exploitation of natural resources, but also on widespread trade. Anatolia could produce any amount of copper, iron, arsenic, antimony, silver and electrum and a fair amount of gold. Some of the gold, and certainly such metals as tin, were imported. Anatolia also produced obsidian, meerschaum, red jasper, rock-crystal, serpentine, diorite, marble, limestones and perhaps carnelian, but not ivory, turquoise, lapis-lazuli, amber or large lumps of nephrite (a form of jade). All these materials were used at Troy or Dorak, but not at Alaca, so they must have been brought either by land or sea.

Central Anatolians, possibly merchants, were installed at Dündartepe on the Black Sea coast and lived with the natives. Here, there are signs of contact with northwest Anatolia, with the far shores of the Black Sea (Ukraine), the Sea of Azov and probably with Ciscaucasia, north of the Caucasus. At Maikop, on the Kuban, a number of features in the great chieftain's tomb are almost certainly due to Central Anatolian influence. There are also links with eastern Anatolia in the form of metal vases, with Ciscaspia whose trade brought lapis-lazuli and Iranian carnelian, and with northwestern Anatolia from where the meerschaum must have come.

Trading contact with Maikop could therefore provide the lapis-lazuli, which came from Badakhshan in the Pamir mountains, the nephrite which came from the Kuen Lun mountains of Eastern Turkestan, the turquoise mined near Nishapur in Khorasan and perhaps some carnelian. From the mouth of the Kuban River, Pontic and northwest Anatolian ships brought home those precious materials. Traders may have coasted along the northern shore of the Black Sea where, in the region of Odessa, the Usatova Early Bronze culture arose, perhaps as a result of this trade. Only Anatolia

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could have introduced copper smelting in that area. The semi-nomads of this region commanded the southern end of another trade route which, rounding the Carpathians, went through the forest of Poland to the Baltic, where amber is found. This magic material, charged with electricity, attractive in colour and easy to carve, was exported to Troy and Dorak and probably picked up by Anatolian ships in the region of Odessa. Other contacts were established with the Cernavoda culture of the Lower Danube in Rumania and eastern Bulgaria, and from the present Turkish border to the region of Moscow. Typical northwest Anatolian products such as pins with hammer and double-spiral beads are found scattered there over a number of sites. The introduction of the Anatolian battle-axe with drooping blade into the south Pontic steppe from the Carpathians may date from the same time. Anatolian metal types were probably exchanged in Rumania and Bulgaria for raw materials; gold from Transylvania and Bulgaria, and copper from the Bakır Dağı, north of the present frontier, Anatolian pots, flat-axes and pins were found at the site of Athanasovo near the harbour of Burgas, just north of this mountain. Gold may have been obtained from Mt. Pangaion in Thrace, in or near territory settled by Anatolians who produced the Macedonian Early Bronze Age. Some of the gold may also have come from the Kalekaş mines in the Troad behind Çanakkale.

Since tin is not found in Anatolia, the source is still disputed, and the Anatolian tin may have come from Bohemia or still further west. Alaca Hüyük probably got its tin from Troy, and it is noteworthy that arsenic was used to alloy copper in the Yortan culture. No analyses of the Dorak metal are available. It is unlikely that Alaca should have obtained tin from West Iran via Mesopotamia, for it was exactly at this period (that of the Akkadian or Sargonic dynasty) that bronze in Mesopotamia gave place to pure copper, suggesting that access to tin supplies had been cut off. Further evidence for the closing of the trade-route to the east was the short-

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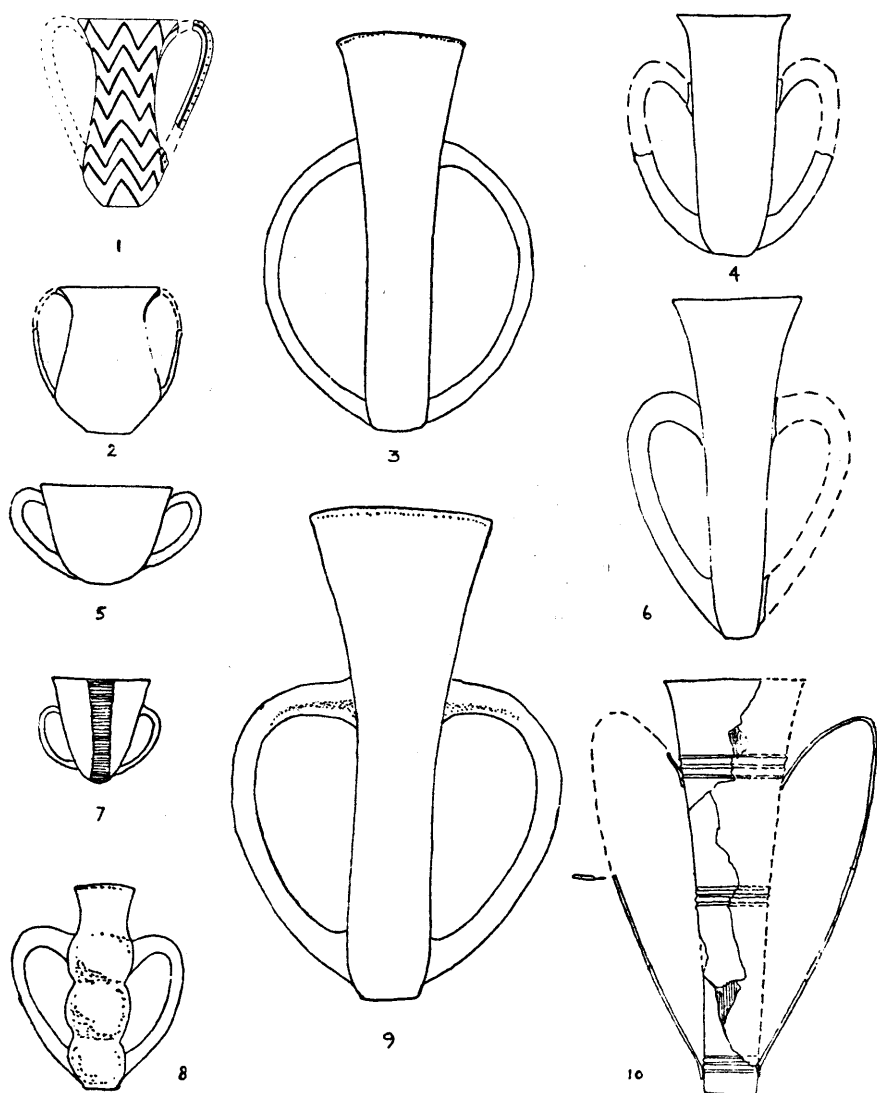


FIGURE 51 — Variations on the two-handled beaker or *depas amphikypellon*. Centre and right, typical northwest Anatolian forms; on left, later and other Anatolian adaptations.

1. Beycesultan VI a (20th century); 2. Heraion (Samos); 3. Poliochni V; 4. Heraion; 5. Tarsus E.B. III; 6. Bağdere (Svilengrad, Bulgaria); 7. Kültepe E.B. III; 8. Troy; 9. Troy II; 10. Dorak. Troy II period (silver).

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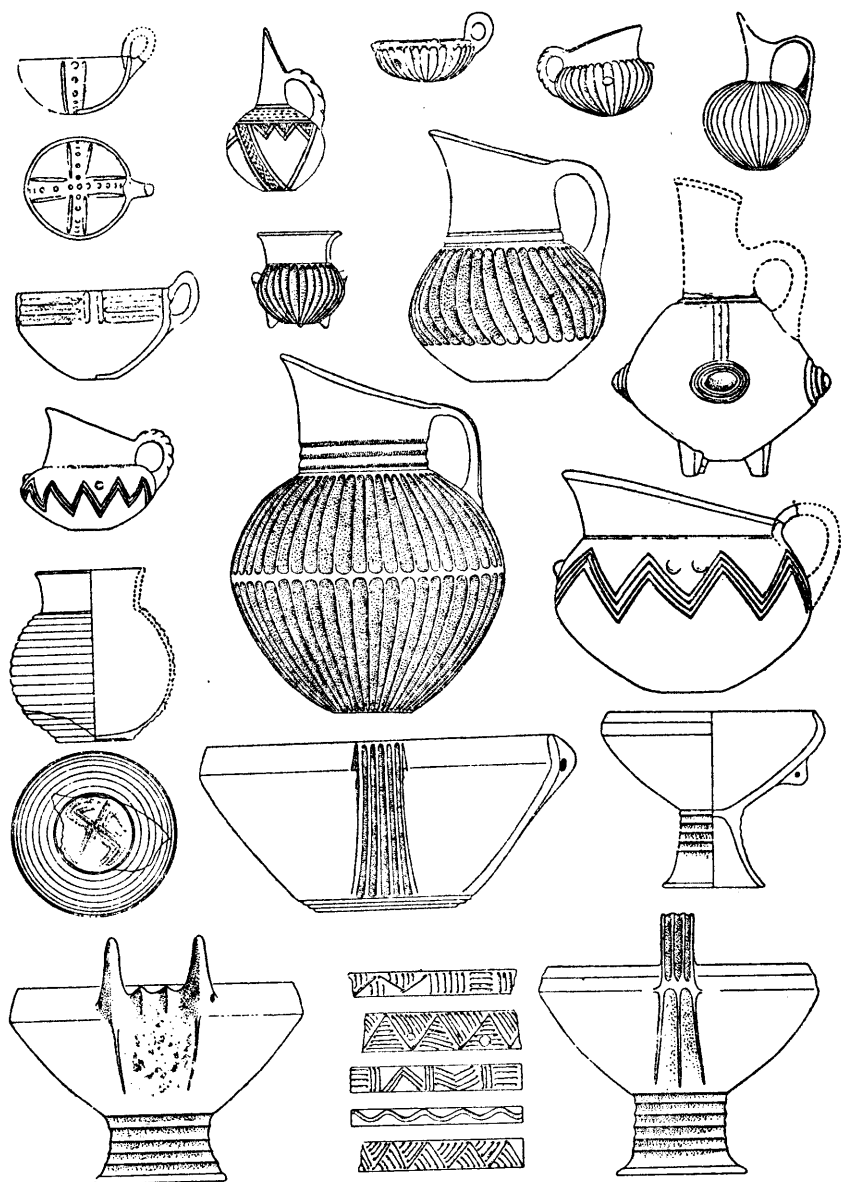


FIGURE 52 — Grooved and fluted pottery of metallic origins from south west Anatolia. E.B. II period.
(after S. LLOYD and J. MELLAART, *Beycesultan*, I, 1962.)

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age of lapis-lazuli during this time. Tin oxide occurs in great quantities near Kermanshah: and it was exactly in this area, commanding the one easy route into Iran, that the Sargonid accounts mention considerable trouble with the native mountaineers. It may be that this caused the trade-route to shift to the north, leading, incidentally, to the enrichment of the tribes north of the Caucasus.

Further south, Anatolian ships from the northwest plied their trade, competing with their Cycladic neighbours in the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean. Cilician and Cretan products reached Troy and Heraion on Samos and as far as Egypt, where Cilician pottery has been found in tombs at Giza dating from the reign of Cheops (ca. 2640 B.C.) in the Fourth Dynasty. Anatolian silver was probably exported to Byblos and perhaps thence to Egypt. Egyptian stone vessels, as well as ivory and gold, appear in the Early Minoan II of Crete. A vessel with the name of the sun-temple of Userkaf, the first king of the Fifth Dynasty, was found at Cythera, an island west of Crete, and objects of both his successors have been found at Dorak. The gift of a throne or armchair suggests that Sahure entered into trade relations with the nameless king buried in tomb I at Dorak. The discovery of ivory at Troy and Dorak, Poliochni and Tarsus emphasize such relations with Egypt. The appearance of the Egyptian *ankh* sign, meaning "life", on Yortan pottery, plus the discovery at Ovabayindir of a crescentic axe of a type known in Fifth Dynasty Egypt, could be more than a coincidence.

In this age of searching and trade it is not surprising to find the first pictures of ships. In Fig.53 are shown a number of ships, from a Dorak sword (Nos 1-3), contemporary examples from the Cyclades (Nos 7-8) and somewhat later ones from Crete (Nos 4-6), and later Middle Bronze Age ships from Iolkos, in Thessaly (No 9), the port famous in legend from which the Argonauts set out. In each case we see a prow with a distinct beak, a high stern, a paddle for steering in the Yortan and Iolkos ships and occasionally

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a mast with a sail. All ships show numerous oars. It is interesting to note that although man had taken to the sea and colonised islands since the Neolithic Age, at least 3500 years earlier, the first pictures of ships in this area appear only in the Early Bronze Age, and as a result of the first great maritime expansion. However, much of the trade must have been by land, by ox-carts or donkey caravans.

From a late Mesopotamia source we learn how Sargon of Accad went on an expedition to help the (presumably Mesopotamian) merchants established in the Central Anatolian city of Purushanda. Sargon was the founder of a new dynasty which extended its sway from the Amanus mountains (the "Cedar Mountain") to the Persian Gulf. It is not known whether this story is apocryphal or not. There is as yet no evidence to confirm the presence of Accadian merchants in Anatolia at this date (24th century B.C.). However, it illustrates clearly how trade was conducted in those days and the hazards to which foreign merchants were sometimes exposed. The repeated mention of numerous Anatolian kings in these semi-legendary accounts fits the picture reconstructed from archaeological evidence for this period. By 2000 B.C., we find Assyrian merchants established in numerous Anatolian towns, ruled by greater and lesser native Anatolian kings. The numerous references in Accadian texts to the Amanus ("Cedar Mountain") and the Taurus (the "Silver Mountains") as well as the first marked Mesopotamian influence on Cilicia, Central and Eastern Anatolia, after 2300 B.C., show that Sargon and Naram-Sin's claims of conquest were no idle boast. This has been confirmed in an even more spectacular way by archaeology; for it is at this very period that the sea route to India was opened. In Sargon's own words, "the ships of Meluhha (the Indus Valley), the ships of Magan (the Oman coast, a source of copper), the ships of Dilmun (the island of Bahrain) he moored at the quay in front of Agade (his capital near Baghdad)". Recent Danish excavations at Failaka, Bahrain and on

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the Oman coast confirm that these were the steps by which Mesopotamian ships, during the Accadian period, made contact with the Indus Valley civilisation. Seals with representations of Indian humped cattle and water buffaloes, unknown before in Mesopotamia, occur in Accadian deposits. It was undoubtedly from Mesopotamia that they were later introduced into Anatolia. Such scraps of archaeological evidence accidentally show that ancient trade did not confine itself to the import and export of raw materials and luxury goods. Trade also brought new and exotic animals, and, most precious of all, slaves. Traces of these are impossible to detect in the absence of written texts. It is almost customary to interpret the appearance of unusual skulls, however few, as "invaders", but they may have been foreign slaves. An unorthodox map is drawn of the known world of this period (Map XI), simply to illustrate the scope of trade.

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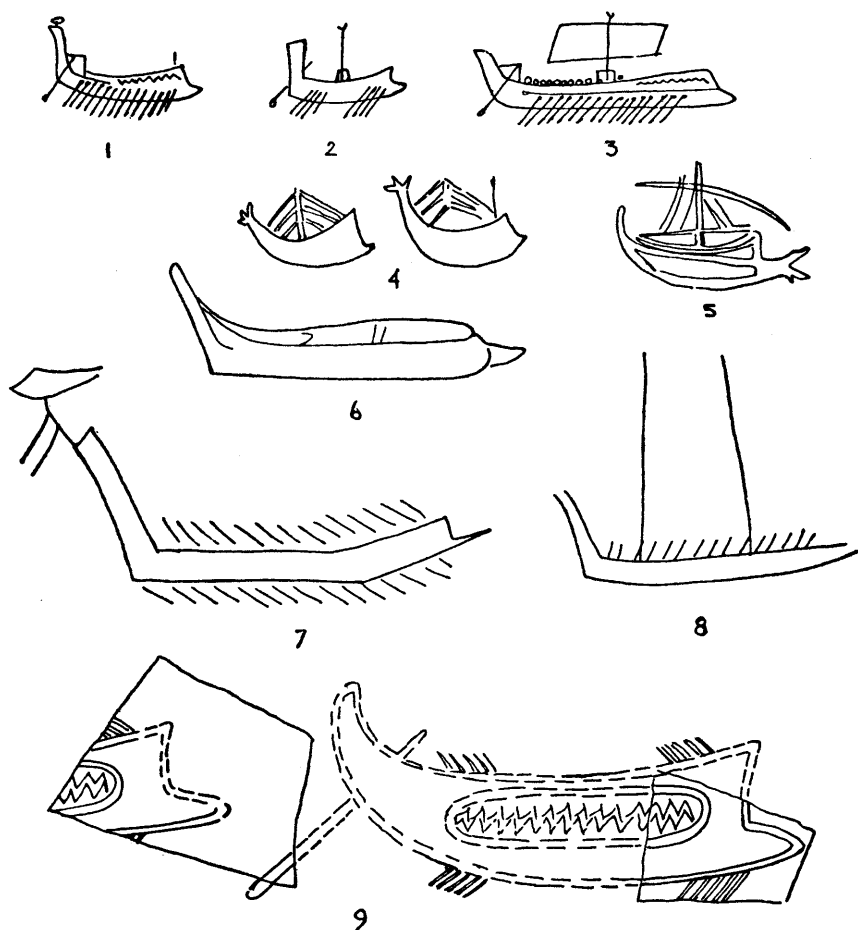


FIGURE 53 — Drawings of ships of Northwest Anatolian (1-3), Cretan (4-6), Cycladic (7-9) types.

(1-3 from sword, Dorak (E.B. II); 4-5 from seals, Platanos and Knossos (Early Minoan 3/Middle Minoan 1); 6, model of boat same place (E.M. 1-2), Cycladic ships (Syros? and Orchomenos — E.B. 2 and Middle Cycladic mat painted sherd from Iolkos).

(after EVANS, *Palace of Minos*, II; E. KUNZE, *Orchomenos*, II, and *Archaeology*, 1958.)

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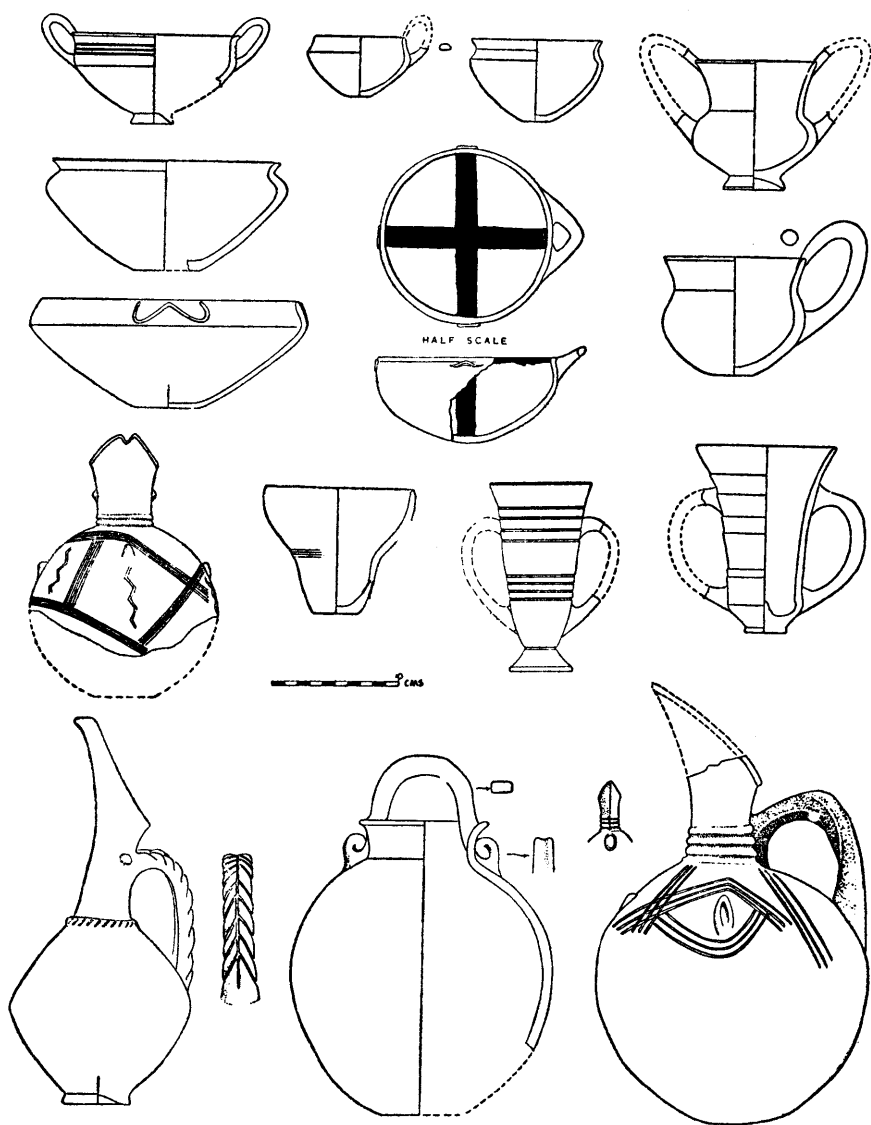


FIGURE 54 — Typical Southwest Anatolian E.B. 3 pottery.
(after S. LLOYD and J. MELLAART, *Beycesultan, I*, 1962.)

CHAPTER XII

THE THIRD PHASE OF THE ANATOLIAN EARLY BRONZE AGE (ca. 2300-1900 B.C.). INDO-EUROPEAN INVADERS FROM THE NORTH. CATASTROPHE AND RECOVERY

The third and last phase of the Early Bronze Age in Anatolia is of particular interest. It saw the arrival of newcomers, barbarians from the north, who spoke Indo-European languages. Some of these caused havoc and destruction hitherto unparalleled in Anatolia, whereas others immigrated or infiltrated with only the average amount of disturbance. Once again the old diagonal line marks the boundary between west and south on one hand, centre and east on the other, as well as the easternmost limit of a great invasion.

In the west, this period lasted about four centuries before imperceptibly merging into a Middle Bronze Age. In Cilicia it was cut short by the arrival of new elements, probably Hurrians, ca. 2100 B.C., who introduced a local Middle Bronze Age, distinguished by painted pottery with some Syrian affinities. In Central Anatolia the previous period, that of the prosperous Alaca Hüyük cemetery, lasted at least until 2200 B.C. Two centuries later, Central Anatolia emerged from the mists of pre-history with the arrival of Assyrian merchants, at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age. In the Pontic regions the old cultures continued at least throughout the twenty-second century and their end is shrouded in mystery. Finally, in Eastern Anatolia, significant changes took place, the full implications of which are still undetermined.

DESTRUCTION IN THE WEST.

Since that day, late in May, 1873, when Schliemann first found the treasures in the red, burned ruins of Troy II destroyed around 2300 B.C., scholars have wondered who destroyed that windswept site. Schliemann believed that this was the city of Priam sacked by the Greeks under Agamemnon. The claim to be the Homeric city was transferred to Troy VI by W. Dörpfeld and to Troy VIIa by C.W. Blegen, after the American excavations in the nineteen-thirties. Latest research shows that this also is impossible and that Troy may never have been destroyed by the Greeks at all. As archaeological research progressed, no one seemed interested in the destruction of Troy II. The classical world had lost interest in this "barbarous prehistoric site", which was no longer the city of Priam. The destruction of this fortress is actually of far greater interest than proving Homer right or wrong and marks one of the most important historical events in Anatolian prehistory. The E.B.2 kingdom of Troy commanded one of the natural routes from Europe into Anatolia. Its destruction opened the gates to an invasion of northern hordes which destroyed the prosperous E.B.2 kingdoms, from the confines of Europe up to the Syrian border, with a ferocity worthy of Huns or Mongols. They may even have left their echo in the Mesopotamian records of the reign of Naram-Sin (2290-2250 B.C.). These records mention demoniac hordes who destroyed the city of Puruskhanda at the western end of that ruler's empire. It would have been unusual if the news of the vile destruction wrought by these invasions had not penetrated beyond the Taurus and Amanus. Excavations in western and southern Anatolia, supplemented by field surveys, expose a picture of utmost horror. All through western Anatolia the burned and destroyed sites, dated by pottery to the end of the E.B.2 period, around 2300 B.C., stretch in a broad belt. They range from below the Sea of Marmora, throughout northwest and southwest Anatolia, through the plains

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of Konya and Cilicia to the Amanus mountains. Sites as far apart as Poliochni and Tarsus, Beycesultan and Ahlithibel, Heraion on Samos and Polatlı all show the same pattern of destruction. In the Konya plain all the cities were destroyed and of a hundred E.B. 2 sites not more than six show signs of reoccupation in the period that followed. In the southwest, less than a hundred out of three hundred sites show reoccupation in the E.B.3 period and, as in the Konya plain, whole areas lay waste for hundreds of years. In the northwest the destruction was equally strong, but reoccupation followed quickly in certain areas (see Map VI).

In Cilicia, the number of settlements decreased sharply after the invasion. No theory of local wars between kingdoms could possibly account for this devastation or desertion of settlements; it was far too widespread, too intense, too violent, and too unexpected.

A theory of local wars, however internecine, cannot explain the fact that the entire area should next show a culture derived from the maritime province of late Troy II.

However, it is possible to connect this disaster, which overwhelmed western Anatolia, with events further north. It coincides with the end of the "Thracian Troy I" culture in Turkish Thrace which had endured during the Troy II period and the end of the Cernavoda culture further north. According to a radiocarbon date, there appeared in 2330 B.C., in the Cernavoda culture, new elements from the steppe. These people were buried under barrows and their skeletons covered with red ochre. In this culture, known as Cernavoda-Ezero, pastoralism was very marked and domesticated horses appeared from the start. Their pottery was extremely primitive, decorated with warts and coarse incision, and sometimes with rope impressions. In eastern Bulgaria the southern form of this culture, known as Karanovo VII, is already considerably more civilised. People practised agriculture, with wheat, barley and millet as the main crops. The horse was present among the domesticated animals. Houses were built of thin wooden poles and apsidal

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in form, with a large front room, and a small back room containing hearth, place for the grindstone, food storage, etc. The pottery was dark grey or black burnished, incised or cord impressed and with numerous other shapes that had earlier local or Anatolian origins. Their battle-axes were of a developed type. Copperworking was known, but there was no bronze. This culture established itself on the site after a pronounced hiatus and may have moved into the area from the north, in the wake of a movement which broke and destroyed the earlier culture pattern ca. 2300 B.C. All this is admittedly uncertain, but a sudden disruption of the earlier culture pattern in the region is well established; just as it can be demonstrated for the west of Anatolia.

We have nothing to identify the newcomers in Anatolia, except thorough destruction, massacres and hundreds of deserted sites. No barbarous pottery, no ochre burials, no tumuli, no new weapons, and no trace of the horse have been found as in the eastern Balkans. Instead, we find strong northwest Anatolian influences in areas where before there had been none, including "megaron" type houses, *depata*, wheel-made plates, new spindle whorls, an increased use of wood in architecture and other features first found in the late Troy II culture. These were diffused all over the west and south up to the Amanus mountains, breaking down the earlier cultural barriers and establishing a homogeneity of culture, however mediocre, that has no earlier parallels. The miserable Troy III settlement was evidently not the sort of place that could exercise such a widespread influence, which even its powerful predecessor was never able to do.

Thus it is clear that, whoever led this movement, the main force was probably composed of landless refugees from the northwestern coastal provinces; bearers of Troy II culture. Only in this way could it have been diffused over such a vast area. The leading element must have been strong enough to break the Trojan kingdom, to command the allegiance of numerous

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local followers and to provide the ruling class throughout the conquered and devastated regions.

No other break in culture can be observed in western and southern Anatolia between this time and that at which the first speakers of Luvian are attested in the same region in the later records. Therefore, it seems almost certain that it was the "Luvians", or to put it more precisely, the elements who were responsible for the Indo-European language of Luvian, who led the great invasion of ca. 2300 B.C. Being culturally inferior, they adopted the material culture of the native populations and must have mixed with them. We can speak of a Luvian language, Luvian deities, and perhaps of a Luvian ruling class. These people may have had habits, customs, rituals, laws, etc. different from those of the earlier population, but their material culture was as Anatolian as that of their kinsmen the Hittites. *

After the disaster, survivors and newcomers began to rebuild the destroyed settlements. The old prosperity, built on trade, had now vanished and the architectural remains of the twenty-third century throughout the devastated domains are, on the whole, a pathetic reflection of their former glory. There is no evidence of town walls, public buildings or formal planning. Troy III was built of stone, evidently quarried from the ruins, and blocks of small houses stood along narrow streets. At Beycesultan and Tarsus the new buildings also lacked character, and the temple area of Beycesultan was abandoned.

A decline in culture is evident everywhere, but life went on and gradually conditions improved again. Trade was resumed with the Aegean and for the first time more contact was established with Central Anatolia, and with Syria and Mesopotamia beyond. Troy IV was built ca. 2200 B.C. and contemporary buildings at Heraion on Samos, Beycesultan and Tarsus are marked by new

* From whom they may not yet have been differentiated.

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groups of large "megara". Troy IV was refortified and covered more ground than its predecessor and at Beycesultan the areas deserted before were rebuilt and a fair amount of prosperity returned. Metal objects reappeared and in the southwest the pottery became more sophisticated (Fig.59). Local tendencies in pottery and metal reaffirmed themselves and trade was re-established with the Aegean.

It is now clear that Greece was also affected by the movements from the north, although events there appear to have happened a century after those in western Anatolia. There is widespread evidence of destruction at the end of the prosperous E.H. II, not only in Central Greece, but in Attica and the north-eastern Peloponnese as well. Further south, the Cyclades appear to have been unaffected by this movement, and no traces of disturbance have been found in Crete. The new culture, Early Helladic III, is best known from Lerna IV in the Argolid and was characterised by apsidal and rectangular houses, often built in wood. A great tumulus was built over the destroyed palace, the "house of tiles", and new pottery made its appearance. Some of this was decorated with painting in dark on light, whereas in Central Greece the decoration was in white on dark. The origins of this pottery, and of the culture in general, are obscure, although painted pottery was certainly known earlier in the Cyclades. Troy IV pottery appeared at Lerna, while painted ware (Early Helladic III) appeared at Troy. Cycladic "duck vases" occurred in southwestern Anatolia, in Heraion, at Troy, etc. and numerous Anatolian vessels were found in the cemetery of Manika near Chalkis in Euboea. Ribbed *depata* like those from Beycesultan have been found at Tiryns, but face-urns, the pots decorated with human faces either on the neck of the vessel or on the lid, have not yet been found outside the Troad.

At the same time, Cilicia renewed its relations with Syria and the Trojan *depata* became transformed into North Syrian goblets, often ribbed and indistinguishable from their southern counterparts,

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for example at Ras Shamra. Here also are found the same metal types as at Soli west of Mersin; spear-heads or pikes with solid tangs, swords and daggers, and discs with knobbed handles. These discs were also common in the later graves at Alaca Hüyük, and have been found at Horoztepe. In metallurgy, Cilicia and North Syria had much in common during this period. Indeed, it is not surprising to find that the period ends with the arrival of a new wave of Syrian influence which introduces the local Middle Bronze Age ca. 2100 B.C.

Cilician trade was not confined to its eastern and southern neighbours, for at both Kara Hüyük, near Konya and Kültepe, near Kayseri, there is plentiful evidence of widespread contact and commerce. Resumed in the E.B.3 period it continued through the centuries that followed, deep into the second millennium B.C. It probably reached its height during the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age with the appearance of the Assyrian merchants. Although their texts do not mention such places as Tarsus and Adana, we know that the trading centre of Luhuzatiya, for example, lay at the eastern end of the Cilician plain. Cups and goblets of local shape but with Cilician affinities now occur in the Konya plain, together with jugs with beak and cutaway spouts of an earlier tradition. Moreover, a third and different element is supplied by a simple red painted ware reminiscent of, but different from, that of E.B.3 of Cappadocia. This is known as "Cappadocian ware".

Sheltered by mountain ranges and the wastes around the Salt Lake from the "Luvian" invasions, Central Anatolia was apparently unaffected by the events that took place further south and west. The old E.B.2 cultures developed without a break through the twenty-third century at the end of which the royal cemetery at Alaca appears to have been abandoned and houses were built over it. In the debris of these houses were found the first *depata* (Fig.51:7), a sure sign of western influence. However, their shape betrays a Cilician rather than a West Anatolian origin. This last settlement

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of the period ended with a conflagration approximately at the time that Cappadocian ware made its first appearance in these western parts of the highland region, within the great bend of the River Halys.

The origin of this pottery was obscure for a very long time. Recently it has been established as a local development in the Kültepe region, around the city of Kayseri which lies at the foot of that beautiful Turkish mountain, the great volcano of Erciyes Dağ. At the time of the Alaca graves, a simple painted pottery was already produced in this area. It appears to have developed ca. 2250 B.C. into what is called Intermediate ware, painted with simple patterns in red lines (Fig.55, top right). This pottery became gradually more advanced; the patterns multiplied; the shapes became more refined and finally polychromy triumphed and the late Cappadocian ware became one of the finest products of Central Anatolia (Fig.55). Nearly all its shapes were derived from the pottery that preceded it and the fine patterns appear to have been strongly influenced by colourful textiles. Its probable origin in the area, its limited distribution and its lack of parallels elsewhere, seem to rule out the old theory that it was brought by the Hittites.

Like all the more spectacular manifestations of culture in Anatolia, it was not an import but of local origin. At Kültepe, in a palace recently excavated and dating from about 2200 B.C., Early Cappadocian ware was found near imported wheel-made Cilician pottery and with peculiar alabaster idols. This palace, surprisingly enough, consists of a broad porch with sleeping platforms, a large hall with a fine central hearth surrounded by four columns which supported the roof and a series of secondary chambers along one side (Fig.56). This is a plan indigenous to the west of Anatolia (see Fig.43, 45) and might have been copied from Poliochni or Troy. Its presence in central Anatolia can only be the result of contact with the western area, in this case probably Cilicia or the Konya plain.

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FIGURE 55 — Cappadocian painted ware from Kültepe and Alişar.
(after N. ÖZGÜÇ, in *Belleten*, XXI; T. ÖZGÜÇ, *Kültepe-Kanesh* (1959); N. and T. ÖZGÜÇ, *Kültepe Kazi Raporu*, 1949, Ankara, 1953; H. H. VON DER OSTEN, *Alişar Hüyük*, I, *OIP*, XXVIII, 1939.)

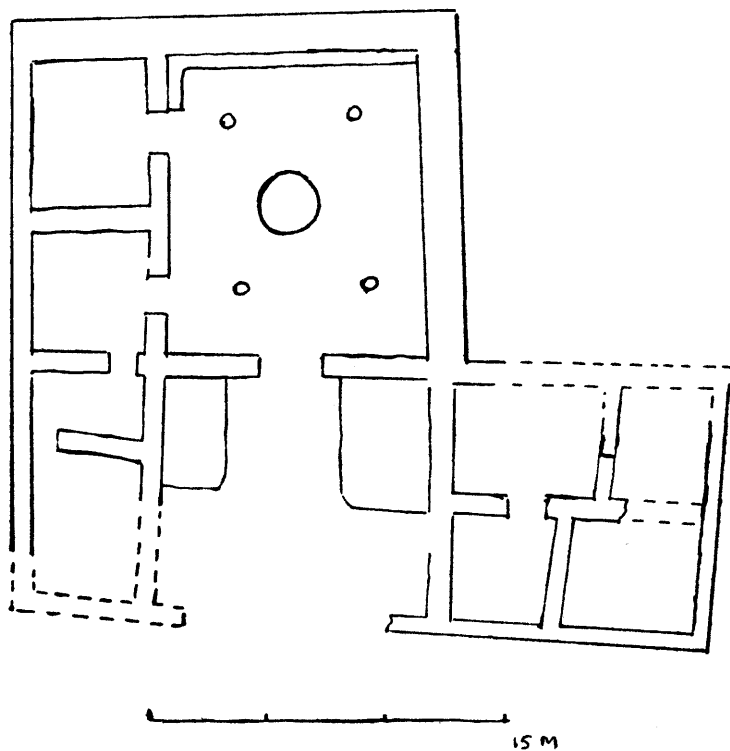


FIGURE 56 — Plan of the Early Cappadocian palace at Kültepe.
(after S. LLOYD, in *Dawn of Civilization*, ed. S. Piggott.)

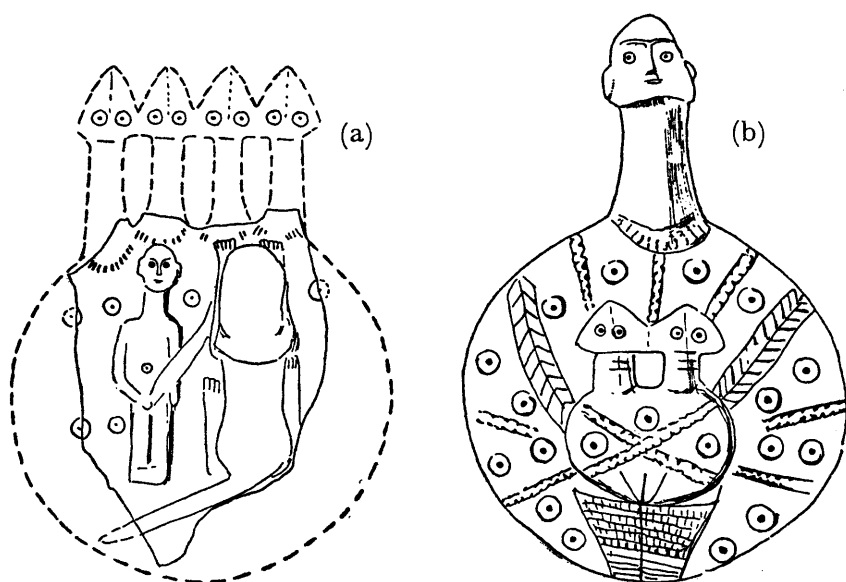


FIGURE 57 — Early Cappadocian alabaster figurines from Kültepe.
(a) tentatively restored after N. Özgüç, in *Belleten*, XXI, fig. 12.
(b) after *RHA*, 1938.

However, the famous “Cappadocian idols” owe nothing to western influence and are as typical of this region as the pottery. Besides small statues seated on a throne, all the finest specimens have a circular body with one to four necks (Fig.57). Some show smaller similar figures placed on the mother’s body above a clearly marked vulva, while others are plain and schematically incised with lines, bands and dotted circles. A tentative reconstruction (Fig. 57a) shows one of the most remarkable figures with four heads. On the body, a young man is carved holding a lion on a leash. Another battered body of such a figure, found at Zencidere, south-east of Erciyes Dağ, shows at least one bearded head and three standing figures on the body. These objects are beyond doubt statues of deities, but their meaning is unknown. The predominance

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of female deities is, however, clearly demonstrated and so is offspring in the form of twins. Conical hats, necklaces and long plaits are shown on the figures, but no more. It is hoped that the continuation of excavations will throw more light on what is certainly one of the most intriguing cultures of Central Anatolia.

Further north, the contemporary culture of the Pontic region has been illuminated by the investigation of partly plundered royal tombs at Mahmatlar, near Amasya and Horoztepe on the south bank of the Yesil Irmak, above the town of Erbaa. Other finds of the same period came from still another, though not royal, tomb at Karapınar, south of Tokat in the same region. The particular interest in these finds lies in the fact that they continue the fine tradition of metalwork seen at Alaca, but at a time that the Alaca cemetery was no longer in use. The finds from the Mahmatlar tomb (the location of which is unknown) may even overlap the latest Alaca graves and the material recovered from it is no less magnificent. Two gold jugs (Fig.48), one gold and one silver cup are in the Alaca tradition, but the bronze battle-axes, socketed with a spiked edge form a link with Horoztepe and are unknown at Alaca. Numerous lumps of silver were also found, and it is possible that the fine inlaid silver statue of a bull, like that from tomb B at Alaca, and now in an American museum, came from this grave.

The Horoztepe cemetery lay well away from the settlement. By sheer chance the digging of graves in the modern cemetery of Erbaa led to its discovery and to the robbing of at least two tombs. Fortunately part of one tomb was intact and the finds presented many resemblances to the material from Alaca. There was a fine statue of a bull on a detachable pedestal, and a single crude "sun-disc", with geometric open-work. Among several smaller statues, one of a woman holding a child as if feeding it, is the most remarkable. It was made of copper or bronze and its large hollow eyes were filled with white paste surrounding a black pupil.

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Even more remarkable is the thin silver figure of a female deity (Pl. XXIII) with the head encased in sheet-gold, on which the features and the hair were clearly traced. Crossed straps of gold-foil were applied to the upper part of the body above the folded hands. It is likely that they might have once held a robe which is no longer preserved. The figures wear bracelets and anklets, and the fingers and toes are well modelled. This figure probably came from Horoztepe, and its alleged provenance of Hasanoglan near Ankara seems unlikely. When it is compared to the other Horoztepe figure, the differences are most striking and it shows many similarities to the Dorak figures or even those from Tell Judeideh (Fig.24).

Two small bull statues were covered with lead, in one case only the front half of the animal, in the other the hind-quarters. Silver inlay filled the triangle on the head, while the muzzle, horn-tips and tail of the large bull were coated in electrum. One bronze figure is of a small stag, highly stylized and the forerunner of many similar figures from eastern Anatolia, Transcaucasia and north-west Iran. The pair of yoked bulls on a single stand is in the Alaca tradition, but the rendering is quite different, almost flamboyant in the exaggerated horns, the strange pedestal and the lack of inlay. The small stag is not unlike those that decorate the sistrum (Pl. XXIVa), a musical instrument which was another innovation of the period. A stag and doe are followed by mountain goats with two lions in pursuit. Two other sistra, shaped like large tuning forks, are ornamented with mountain goats and birds (Fig.58) or with a bird flapping its wings between two buds, and rows of horns down the sides (Pl. XXIVb).

Two copper or bronze tables (Fig.59:3,4), supported by human legs wearing short boots, were found bent double, containing between them a mass of copper vessels, bent and folded for magico-religious reasons. The bending or breaking was believed to make the object "harmless" to the dead. Furniture was frequently taken

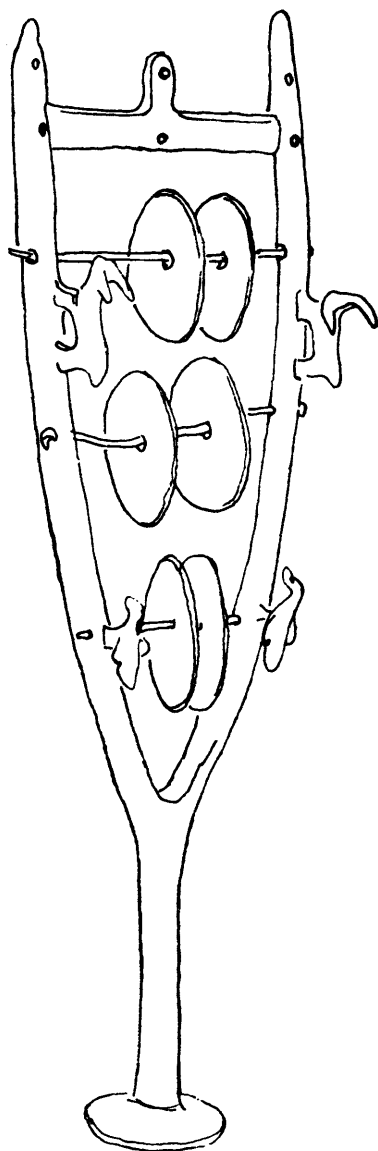


FIGURE 58 — Sistrum of copper (or bronze) from Horoztepe.
(after T. Özgüç, *Horoztepe*, 1958.)

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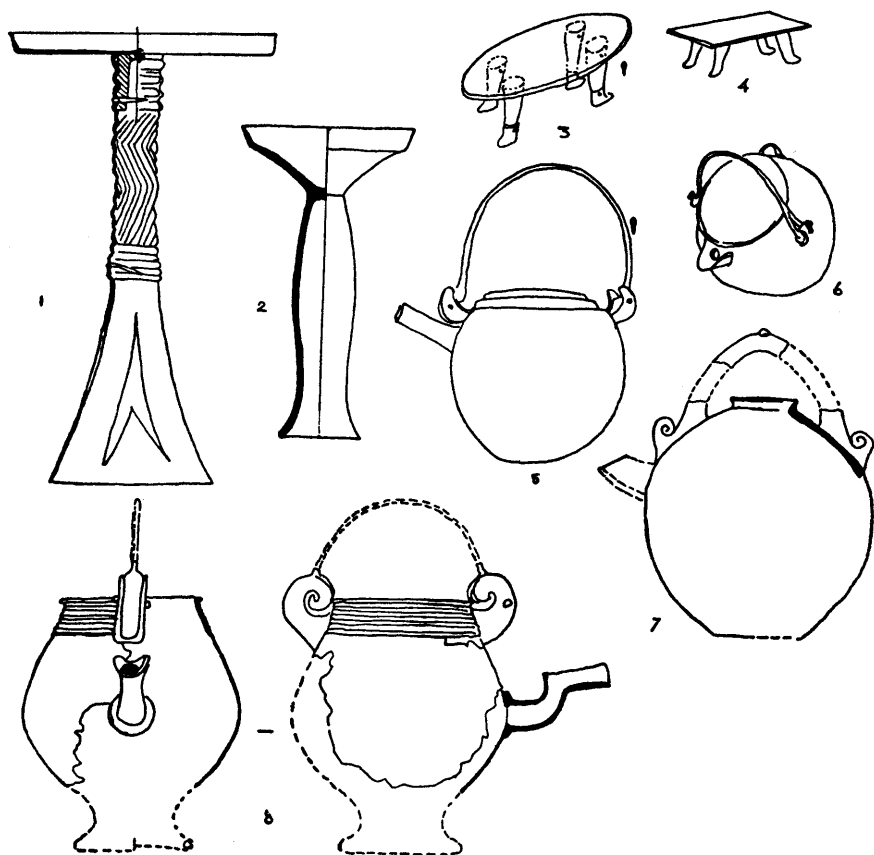


FIGURE 59 — Furniture and metal vessels from Horoztepe, the Troad (N° 8), and Karapınar (N° 5); pottery imitations (2, from Alişar; 7, from Beycesultan VII.) (after T. Özgüç, *Horoztepe*, 1958; *OIP*, XXVIII; K. Bittel, in *JDAL*, 1958, and *Beycesultan*, I, 1962.)

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to pieces, swords bent or broken, and vessels crushed as at Dorak to make sure that the dead were not disturbed.

Among the vessels was a fine fruitstand (Fig.59:1), the first metal one of a type common in Central Anatolia and Pontus since the "Late Chalcolithic" Period (Fig.59:2). There were numerous bowls and jars, dippers, a mirror, and a fine kettle with basket handle (Fig.59:6) of a shape more advanced than one from nearby Karapınar (Fig.59:5) or the earlier ones from the Troadic tomb (Fig.59:8). A western form in pottery, contemporary with the Horoztepe example, is shown in Fig.59:7. Other fragments of casings of furniture were found in this grave, the dimensions of which ($8.5 \times 3.0 \times 1.25$ metres) correspond to the largest of the Alaca tombs. There were no traces of wood and the skeletons of its occupants had been crushed. No signs were found of how the grave had been roofed, or whether any funerary feasts had been held after the burial. Little personal jewellery has survived except for a small gold cap, crudely cut in sheet metal, a belt-buckle, and a charming sceptre-head on which perch four little birds.

The weapons of this period show the same change as in the other items from the graves. Swords with flanged edges (Fig.60:1-2), a dagger of the same type (Fig.60:3), the old slotted (Fig.60:5-6) and the new poker-butt spearheads (Fig.60:4) are found next to elaborate knobbed and spiked halberds (Fig.60:7 and 8). Crescentic axes (Fig.60:9) continued, together with other forms of battle-axes (Fig.60:10). In general it seems that the heavy spear and the battle-axe or halberd were gaining in popularity at the expense of the sword, but the implications of these changes in armoury are still far from clear. It may have reflected the equipment of the well-trained armies of Sargonid times. Or else fighting from carts could have been making its initial appearance in Anatolia. The first alternative does not seem likely, for the Naram-Sin stele shows the king and his followers armed with bows and arrows: articles of war strangely missing in Early Bronze Age Anatolia.

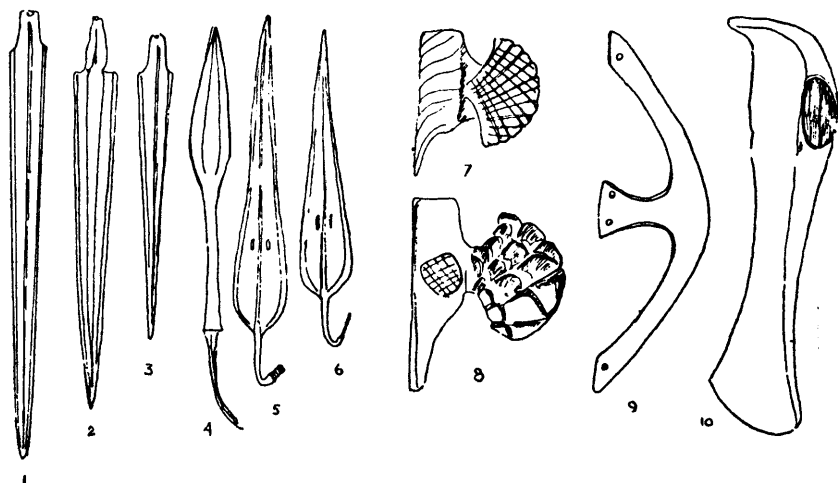


FIGURE 60 — Copper or bronze weapons from Horoztepe.
(after T. Özgüç, *Horoztepe* 1958.)

The development of the halberd, battle-axe, or the crescentic axe could well be the answer to the heavy spear. The halberd, mounted on a long pole, would keep the enemy at bay and could be used for killing a man after breaking his spear. History provides numerous parallels for the use of axe against spear.

The pottery of this Horoztepe culture is of the Pontic type and not very well known. Cappadocian ware never penetrated these northern regions. Remembering the conflicts between the central Anatolian Hittites and the Pontic Kaskaeans in the following millennium it is not impossible that the geographical division was also an ethnic one. In any case, metal types show clearly that some trade and contact were maintained and new inventions adopted. Probably the Pontic culture transmitted such influences to the areas still further afield. In ancient Colchis, below the Caucasus, these same metal types now make their first appearance. A sea-route from Samsun would have been the easiest avenue for trade.

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The end of the Horoztepe culture has not yet been defined and what followed is still unknown. It may have ended about 2100 B.C., perhaps later. Meanwhile important changes were taking place in the surrounding lands. Strangers from the east and west appeared in the fertile acres of Cappadocia. At this time it was surrounded by hills and wooded mountains, rich in streams and animals, as well as in silver, copper, iron and gold.

Traders from many regions of Anatolia came to Kültepe, the site of the ancient Hattic town of Kanesh, which was steadily growing in importance during this period. Placed at a ganglion of trade-routes leading in all directions of the compass, any ancient caravan was easily guided to Kanesh by its 13,000 foot landmark, the snowcapped Mt. Erciyes, the "White Mountain". Great ramparts encircled the already ancient mound, protecting within their sweep the royal palace, public buildings, both religious and secular, and probably the dwellings of court officials and the rich.

In the very last phase of the Early Bronze Age, which began ca. 2100 B.C., a great walled suburb was laid out on its northeastern side. This was to accommodate a surplus of population or the steady inflow of native and foreign merchants. From tablets discovered in the third building level on this site, it is known that, by 2000 B.C., Assyrian merchants had settled in Kanesh. The personal names recorded on those tablets included besides Assyrians and local Hattic (i.e. non-Indo-European) names, those of a majority who spoke Indo-European languages such as Luvian and Hittite.

In this new suburb a new wheel-made pottery also appeared for the first time. It was covered with a slip and brilliantly burnished, with new and metallic shapes in sharp contrast to the gaily painted wares of the Late Cappadocian types, and was evidently not derived from them. This pottery, the ancestor of the splendid Middle Bronze Age wares of Central Anatolia, and of Kültepe in

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particular, appeared quite suddenly. The new suburbs, new pottery and new people can hardly be explained away as a series of coincidences.

How this ware arrived at Kültepe is not known. The texts suggest two alternatives: Hittites or Luvians, the latter not yet well-established, but both newcomers. The problem is difficult to solve, for Kültepe is not the only site where new wares suddenly occurred in central Anatolia. At the famous sites of Alaca Hüyük and Boğazköy (the latter destined to become the later Hittite capital) closely related though not identical pottery appeared, again suddenly, and associated with local wares which were still handmade. Further west, at the same period, a similar phenomenon can be observed in the Ankara region and at Kara Hüyük near Konya, but the associated local pottery was west Anatolian in type and well-defined. The red-cross bowls (Fig.54) date it to the period of Troy V, ca. 2100-1900 B.C. Strangely enough, the best parallels for the pottery brought by the earliest occupants at the site of Boğazköy are found at Beycesultan VIA in the southwest, where this pottery is represented. It consists of red wash-ware and rich black, grey, red and cream ware, frequently ornamented with incisions, made on the wheel and brilliantly burnished. Here, too, it appears suddenly and rather late in the period. From surface exploration it appears that it originated in inland western Anatolia, somewhat further north, in the region of Kütahya. There it is mixed with red, black and grey wares, often ornamented with pattern burnish (Fig.61), which originated in the lowlands south-east of the Sea of Marmora. It also extended inland, further west to the plains of Balıkesir and Manisa, but not as yet represented on the Aegean coast. In the Troy V culture, the pattern-burnished ware was known, but not the more specific forms ornamented with rows of dashes, W-shaped handles in relief, or the cups and bowls in wheel-made plain ware. The coast seems to have been relatively backward at this period, and did not appear to have shared in the

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events further inland until the next period which was the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age.

This pottery, then, marked the end of the Early Bronze Age and represented the final wedding of the old burnished techniques with the new fashion of throwing pottery on the wheel. Except in the hinterland of northwest Anatolia, it was always accompanied by local elements of earlier tradition. Its shapes were frequently metallic and the predominance of grey ware suggests silver prototypes. This may have been a luxury ware distributed by merchants along the trade-route, perhaps together with its metal prototypes. A northwest Anatolian origin is almost certain and there are other indications of the prosperity of this area just before the end of the Early Bronze Age. West Anatolian metal types such as curved knives (Fig.50), have been found at Kültepe, Troy V, and "Denizli". These sites were surrounded by powerful walls and new settlements sprang up everywhere in the region. Poliochni and Thermi were resettled and the widespread occurrence of the red-cross bowl demonstrates the vast scope of trade.

Once again, this short period of prosperity was disturbed, about 1900 B.C., at the turn of the Early to the Middle Bronze Age in the west. Compared to the "Luvian" invasion, some four centuries before, the destruction was geographically limited to the north of Anatolia, and does not appear to have had such a lasting effect. Once again similar events took place in Greece, which suggests that the invasions are somehow interconnected. What actually happened is exceedingly obscure; there is substantial evidence for destruction. This was followed by a change in culture in Macedonia, Thessaly, Central Greece and perhaps part of the Argolis, except at Lerna, where the transition was peaceful, but nevertheless felt. New elements with a habit of intramural burial in cist graves appeared, bringing with them the technique of fashioning a highly distinctive pottery called Grey Minyan, which was thrown on the wheel. Their houses were often apsidal, as were

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those of Lerna in the previous period, when forerunners of Grey Minyan had appeared. On the northwest coast of Anatolia, from Troy to Samos, this same pottery now appeared with the beginning of Troy VI, which, as in Greece, marks the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age. The two events were evidently related, but it should be noted that the Cyclades, just as before, seem to have been unaffected by this movement. Both movements into Greece (that at the end of E.H. II and the second at the end of E.H. III) are thought to be connected with the arrival of the speakers of the Indo-European tongue which ultimately led to the formation of the Greek language during the second millennium B.C. Their characteristic grey Minyan pottery is based on Anatolian prototypes, possibly in metal. It occurs simultaneously in the Anatolian maritime province on the Aegean, in Macedonia, in Central and South Greece, whereas the Thessalian pottery looks like a barbarous form of Troy V types. Contact by sea between these areas is therefore evident, and it would seem that the invaders, if not native to northwest Anatolia, had passed through that area on their way to Greece. However, they may have come from Turkish Thrace, north of the Marmora, a region in close contact with that of Bursa which now appears to have furnished the ancestors of Grey Minyan ware in the E.B.3 period. Incidentally, this is early enough to have influenced a previous version at Lerna.

Around 1900 B.C. there was widespread destruction in the Bursa-Iznik region and the prosperous upland areas which look as if they bore the brunt of an attack. As a result, grey wares, etc., spread west to the Aegean coast. The origin of the grey ware is still difficult to discern, especially as no site has yet been excavated in this area. The presence of horse bones in Troy VI, after 1900 B.C., suggests a northern origin, but we know now that horses (and perhaps chariots) existed in Central Anatolia during the 20th century at Kültepe. There are then two main possibilities: either a thrust from Europe across the Marmora, or one from the Anatolian

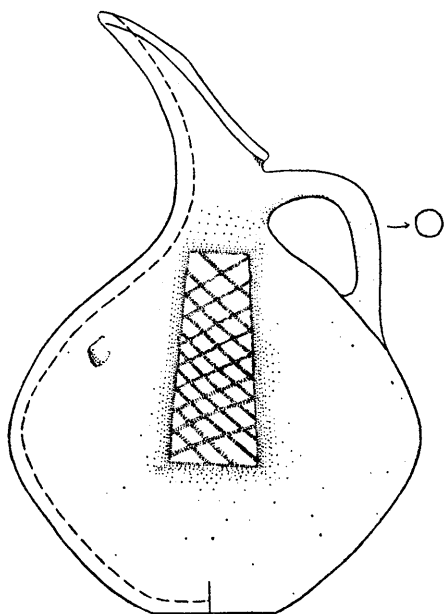


FIGURE 61 — Pattern-burnished jug of Marmora (E.B. 3) type from Beycesultan VI A.
(after *Beycesultan*, I, 1962.)

plateau to the east. Either one might account for the destruction of numerous sites in the Ankara region around 1900 B.C., and the depopulation of the Sakarya river basin.

It is tempting to connect these events with the arrival of the Hittites from Europe, along the line from Marmora through Eskişehir, Ankara and Central Anatolia. This route from the west, preferred by many scholars to the eastern path, clashes with the known chronology. The western troubles can be dated to about 1900 B.C. with some reasonable certainty. However, the Kültepe texts show Hittite elements as peaceful citizens established at Kanesh and other cities during the previous century, rather than as barbarians fresh from the steppe.

Early Bronze Age 3

Numerous Assyrian accounts of continuous and undisturbed trade and travel during the twentieth century in central Anatolia, (and probably beyond) cannot be equated with the period of troubles around 1900 B.C. But these are in accord with the end of the first phase of the Assyrian trade and the fifty or more years of interlude before it was resumed in the reign of Shamshi-Adad, ca. 1850 B.C. It was hardly surprising that after the destruction of western influence in the Ankara region, the next settlements should come under strong central Anatolian influence emanating from the Hattic commercial centres of Boğazköy and Kültepe.

It would seem then as if the troubles of the end of the Early Bronze Age were confined to the north of the vast area of western cultures, and did not seriously affect Central Anatolia except, perhaps, to contribute to a temporary cessation in trade.

The balance of the evidence suggests that the western disturbances were the result of a movement of people from Europe into and through provinces south of the Marmora to the Aegean coast and beyond. An eastern route into the country still seems the most likely for the entrance of the Hittites *, but the date of arrival must be put forward to the 21st century B.C. Only future excavations can confirm the suggestion that their arrival was in some way connected with the end of the various Early Bronze Age cultures in eastern Anatolia.

EPILOGUE.

The beginning of the second millennium in Anatolia roughly corresponds to the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age and the beginnings of writing and history. The first evidence of literacy is there, whether we are dealing with the tablets from Kültepe written in Assyrian, or an obelisk set up by an expatriate Luvian at Byblos and written in Egyptian hieroglyphs; or the first

* But only if at this early date they can be differentiated from Luvians.

Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages in the Near East

Anatolian hieroglyphs themselves from seals at Beycesultan (Pl. XVIb), Kara Hüyük-Konya or written in paint on pots from Kültepe Ib.

Writing was the latest acquisition among Anatolian peoples, for reasons that are unknown to us. It did not spread all over the country until the Late Bronze Age. By then it was too late to record anything about the Early Bronze Age peoples of Anatolia, except obscure rituals and incantations. Only the Cappadocian tablets written in Assyrian from Kültepe, Alişar and Boğazköy date from a period when, at least in some places, non-Indo-European rulers still held sway. We have no tablets of that date written in the native languages. All later texts are written in Indo-European; Hittite, Luvian, Palaite, and the earlier tongues are almost irrevocably lost. Actually there are some religious texts in Hattic, the language of Early Bronze Age Central Anatolia. The few Luvian texts contain numerous pre-Indo-European words, derived from earlier languages which were different from Hattic, as could be expected. Although it is fascinating to know that *anni*, *tatti*, *ziti* and *muwa* mean "mother, father, man and son" respectively, and were adopted into Luvian (supplanting Indo-European words), one would like to know where these words originated. They might belong, for example, to the language of the people who made the gold of Troy, who traded with the king of Egypt, built the shrines at Beycesultan, and got drunk in the Tarsus tavern, all in the E.B.2 period before the Luvians arrived. There might be still earlier elements involved, acquired *en route* in Eastern Europe.

How many strata of languages were still current, or at least remembered, when the first speakers of Indo-European arrived? What was the Great Goddess called, and what was the name of her son? Questions such as these, and many others, make one regret that writing came so late to Anatolia. Whatever the archaeologist discovers about ancient civilisations is only a minute fragment of the life of the peoples who made them.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologische Anzeiger</i>
AS	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
Belleten	<i>Türk Tarih Kurumu Bülteni</i>
OIP St.	<i>Oriental Institute Publications, Studies</i>
PPS	<i>Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society</i>
RHA	<i>Revue Hittite et Asiatique</i>
SA	<i>Sovetskaya Arkeologiya (Russian)</i>
TAD	<i>Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi</i>
TTAED	<i>Türk Tarih Arkeoloji Etnografya Dergisi.</i>

